HISTORY OF THE GAṄGAS

PART-I

S. N. Rajaguru



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FOREWARD

THE author, Sri Satyanarayan Rajaguru, may be congratulated for the laborious and scholarly work he has done in writing this *History of the Gaṅgas* in two parts. The idea of compiling a comprehensive history of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga on modern lines appeared when Prof. R. Subba Rao of Rajahmundry wrote an account of the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vols. V—VIII.* Although he tried to correct some mistakes appearing in the history of the Gaṅgas written by old scholars like Rajendra Lal Mitra, Sir W. W. Hunter, M. M. Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji, who wrote on the history of Orissa and that of the Gaṅgas, he could not succeed much in correcting the defective readings of many Gaṅga Inscriptions found in the temples of Mukhalingam, Sri-Kurmam, Simhachalam, Draksharam and Nilakantheswara. These records were published in the *Annual Reports of Epigraphy*, Madras, for the years 1893, 1895, 1899 and 1926. Some other records of the same nature were published in volumes IV, V, VI and X of the *South Indian Inscriptions*. Due to defective reading of these records, the chronology of the Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga remained erroneous. Prof. R. Subba Rao's valuable contribution to the history of the Early Gaṅgas, as well as, Mr. S. N. Rajaguru's publication of several Gaṅga Inscriptions, offered great help to scholars in the field of research. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had noticed this in a note added to his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, published in the Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX—XXIII, page 386. The present work throws some new light on the history of Orissa where the Gaṅgas have played an important role.

The Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga introduced a new *era* of their own which was in vogue in Kaliṅga ever since they started their rule in that area. Unfortunately, the date of the commencement of that *era* has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained owing to divergent opinions expressed by different scholars. According to V. V. Mirashi, the *era* was started in A. D. 498. But, Mr. S. N. Rajaguru suggests that it was introduced in A. D. 626-627. He has also written a paper explaining his theory in his *Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II*, which paper is re-produced in this book in an *Appendix*. We are to wait for future discoveries to solve the riddle.

The most remarkable portion of this work is the second part, where the author has brought to light some new facts relating to the Gaṅga Kings of Khemuṇḍi in general and Parlakhemundi in particular. He has also done well by ending the book with a note on the life of the present Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, who is solely responsible for the creation of the Orissa State, according to the author.

The author has made a meritorious contribution to the history of the Gaṅgas. I had the opportunity of going through this work in manuscript in 1962, and I believe it is bound to receive due recognition at the hands of the students of the history of Orissa.

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(Retired Professor), Madras.
15-9-1966

Author's Note

The idea of writing the *History of the Gaṅgas* on a modern scientific line was given to me in 1948 by Sri K. C. Gajapati Narayana Dev, the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, who belongs to the ancient dynasty of the Gaṅgas.

The role of the Gaṅgas in the history of Orissa is quite unique and magnanimous as they are mainly responsible for bringing Orissa under the sway of a single administration. The cultural and literary activities which they advanced along with the out lay of the great *Jagannāth-cult* in Orissa had practically raised this land to the height of excellence. The unity and administration which they maintained was so strong and stable that no foreign invador could dare to step into this soil for many centuries to come. Indeed, Orissa had enjoyed independence up to the 16th century A. D., in spite of all her neighbouring territories wrapped into the clutches of the Muslim rule.

The first part, now published, takes the History of the Gaṅgas up to the accession of Anantavarma Cōḍagaṅgadēva (A. D. 1077—1147) who ruled the Tri-Kaliṅga Country within the limits of the Gaṅgā (Hoogly) in the east and the Gōdāvarī in the south that extended roughly 1000 Killo-metres on the east coast. In the second part, I will deal with the History of the Imperial Gaṅgas and that of the Ex-Zamindars of Khemuṇḍi who belong to the same royal family.

I express my gratefulness to the Maharaja of Parla-khemundi, to Sri Nityananda Mahapatra, the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Orissa, and also to Sri A. Das, I. A. S., Secretary, Education, who are mostly responsible for publication of this book. I also pay my thanks to Prof. T. K. Venkataraman, M. A., L. T., Madras, who had kindly gone through the manuscript and offered some valuable suggestions.

BHUBANESWAR, Satyanarayana Rajaguru,
15-11-1968 *The author.*

CONTENTS

HISTORY OF THE GAṄGA DYNASTY OF KALIṄGA

CHAPTER I

(The Legends and Mythological Accounts)

THE Gaṅgas were a hardy and manly dynasty who founded kingdoms in Vanavāsi in the south, Kaliṅga in the south-east and in portions of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala during the early centuries of the Christian era. Their descendants continue to hold large areas even later in parts of Central India, South Orissa and in Srikakulam and Visākhapatna districts of Āndhra Pradesh. The origin of this long and illustrious line is wrapped in great obscurity. Tradition, as contained in the records of some of the families of this dynasty, describes its origin as follows:—

Long ago, there lived in Vārāṇasī a widow Brahmani who daily resorted to the river Gaṅgā to worship the goddess. One day, while she was performing her usual worship, she saw some white object floating on the water. As it approached her, she noticed that it was a beautiful baby which she at once carried to the bank and revived it. As a result of her efforts, the baby showed signs of life and the happy woman took it home and brought it up, regarding it as a present to her by the Mother Gaṅgā. In course of time, the baby grew up to be a stalwart youth who then went to the far south and established a kingdom there. He was the founder of the Gaṅgā dynasty of Kaliṅga. In another record entitled the "*Kaṭaka-Rāja-Vaṁśāvalī*"[1] the story goes as follows:—

[1] *The Local Records*, B. Vol. No. 37, pp. 415—449, Madras

Once upon a time, a Śiva-liṅgaṃ called Laṅgalēśvara was installed by Śrī Rāmachandra, on the banks of the Gaṅgā where a city named Kolāhalapura was situated. There lived a Brāhmaṇa of Gauḍīya caste named Śāntanu who used to worship the god Laṅgalēśvara daily praying for a son. Once, the god told him in dream that a daughter would be presented to him who would give birth to two sons, capable of destroying the Keśarī line of kings to hold the imperial status. Accordingly, a daughter was born to them and she was named Gaṇgā. After a few years, two sons were born to her before she attained puberty when a supernatural voice was heard from above announcing that the babies belonged to the god himself. After some years, the young boys named Vāsudēva and Chōḍagaṅgadēva were bestowed with some heavenly presents [1] by the god including a sword where after they proceeded to the south and established an empire after destroying a Keśari king, known Nṛūpa-Kēśarī, who lived in the fort of Bārabāṭi in Orissa.

We are unable to depend on these mythical stories relating to the migration of the Gaṅgas and their progress for to Orissa. The "*Gaṅgavaṁśānucharitaṁ*", a later poem in Sanskrit, rejects these stories as incorrect. None of the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga gives any hint whatsoever regarding mention of these traditional accounts in relation to the origin of the dynasty. These traditions may, therefore, be dismissed as stories of some latter period. A temple record of Jagannātha, (*Mādalāpāñji*) says that the Gaṅgas belonged to the lunar-race. From the Gaṅga copper-plate grants we learn that the Gaṅgas beolnged to the lunar-race and their *gotra* was Ātrēya. The inscriptions

[1] "Gaurī-bēta, dakṣiṇāvartta-śaṅkha, ḍamaru, mṛdaṅga, Khaḍga, etc."

of Chōḍagaṅga belong to the closing years of the 11th century. It is urged by some scholars that this shows the desire of those families, then ruling, to connect themselves with either the solar or lunar-race of Kṣtriyas. Some scholars, discussing the origin of the Western Chālukyas and the Pallavas whom they consider that the ascription of an ancient indigenous origin to them was due to the Brāhmanical revival at the 10th and 11th centuries. But, no scholar held that the Gaṅgas, either the Western or Eastern, were foreigners. So, it can safely be said that this theory of concoction does not apply to what is contained in the inscriptions referred to above. The elaborate genealogy, contained in the copperplates of the later Gaṅgas, traces the dynasty to Turvasu, one of the sons of Yayāti.[1] It is stated that Turvasu had no sons and on worshipping the Mother Gaṅgā, he had a son named Gāṅgeya whose children were the Gaṅgas. Turvasu was a Purāṇic king and on the evidence of some of the *Purāṇas* like the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśa*, a sequal to the *Mahābhārata*, it could be seen that Turvasu had a son who succeeded him and that this family consisted in its main line of six generations.[2] It can, therefore, be argued that the narrative contained in the inscriptions is opposed to the account of the *Purāṇas* and may consequently be a concoction. As the inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga belong to the closing years of the 11th century A. D., we can suppose that Sanskrit literary works were not then available to support the tradition that Turvasu's line became extinct. Since the family records showed that they belonged to Turvasu's line, they had to solve the difficulty by bringing in this account of a supernatural agency. From the *Harivaṁśa*, however, we find that

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[1] *See* Table Nos. II & III

[2] *See* Table No. II

in the seventh generation there was a female child and that she was married to Saṁvarṇa; and Duṣyanta, the issue of that marriage, continued the line[1]. Saṁvarṇa being one of the descendants of Puru, the line of Turvasu was continued in the Pauravas, according to the *Purāṇas*. If we have to give any credence to the information in the copperplate grants of Chōḍagaṅga, as in all fairness we have to give, because the Gaṅga copperplate grants of the 13th and 14th centuries avoid the story of supernatural origin[2] altogether, and simply mention Gāṅgēya as a son of Turvasu, we have to suppose that Turvasu had a son named Gāṅgēya besides the one whose line is mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. The accounts of genealogy contained in the inscriptions may thus be reconciled with that of the *Purāṇas*. The same is not strictly followed in the mythological accounts. Since most of the purāṇic genealogies end with the Mahābhārata war and since no mention is made of the Turvasu line in the dynastic lists of the *Kaliyuga*, there may still be some doubts regarding the descent of the Gaṅgā dynasty from the lunar-race. But, since the dynastic lists of the *Kaliyuga* do not mention all the families and all the informations available at present indicate, as we have seen above, the Gaṅgas as belonging to the lunar-race, there need be no doubt regarding the authenticity of the information given in the copperplates of Chōḍagaṅga regarding the stock to which the Gaṅgas belong. The Gaṅgas are thus the descendants of Turvasu, who descended from the great emperor Pururava, who ruled over Bhāratavarṣha with Pratiṣṭhāna or the modern Allahabad as his capital and who brought about a close union between the first and

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[1] *See* Table No. IV

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Pt. i, No. 3 (1896), pp. 229—272. *Ibid.* (1898). *Ibid.* (1895), Vol. LXIV. pp. 128—154.

second Āryan migration into this land of ours. It goes without saying that the Gaṅgas, who trace their origin up to this great Āryan Emperor of Hindusthān, are themselves Āryans. The fact that the Gaṅgas of Orissa are of Ātrēyasa *gotra* may also confirm the above conclusion, as the *gotra* is generally supposed to indicate descent. According to the genealogical tradition of this dynasty, we are told that Atri, who was the son of Brahmā and the grandson of Viṣṇu, was the progenitor of the dynasty. So, according to the Hindu rules of tracing *gotras*, the Gaṅgas called themselves Kṣatriyas of Ātrēyasa *gotra*. From the sage Atri, the Moon or Chandramas was born, and therefore the dynasty is called 'Chandra-Vaṁśa'.

The theory that the Gaṅgas of Orissa belonged to the lunar-race being thus settled, discussion regarding their original home has become easy. The descendants of Gāṅgēya being known as the Gaṅgas, we may accept that their original home was the place where Turvasu, Gāṅgēya's father, was ruling. Though Turvasu's father was living in Pratiṣṭhāna (Allahabad) which was his capital, Turvasu did not live there. He was one of five brothers and Puru was asked to rule over the country from the throne of Yayāti. The father of Turvasu was assigned the territory that lay to the south-east of the kingdom of their forefathers. Gāṅgēya and his son must have ruled in this (southern) part of the country. But, according to the view expressed before, Gāṅgēya was one of at least two brothers. So, we have some difficulties in locating the place where he ruled. The inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga place it in the west of the territory round about the Mahēndra-hill which was conquered by Kāmārṇava and his four brothers. This brings us to consider the territory ruled

over by Turvasu; because, we have not been told anywhere that Gāṅgēya migrated from his parental home. The territory, ruled over by Turvasu, comprises of a portion of the present Orissa, a portion of Madhya Pradesh, a portion of West Bengal and the northern and southern portions of the old Madras Presidency. In all these, the only area that could lie to the west of the Mahēndra-hill is a portion of Madhya Pradesh. It should be noted that down to the rule of the Imperial Guptas, the Hindu religious code distinguished the territory lying to the south of the Vindhyas was occupied by some Non-Āryan races. Thus, that part of the country was not subject to Āryan migration; and the high caste Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas of the north, who were living in Āryāvarta, were not allowed by *Dharmaśāstras* to go to the regions lying to the south of the Vindhya Mountain. But, that practice was given up during the rule of the Imperial Guptas, when the Huṇas troubled in the north-western quarters of India centring Malwa.

As for the origin of the solar and lunar-races of the Kṣatriyas, it is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that Yudhiṣṭhira was informed by Śrīkṛiṣṇa that from the two races of Kṣatriyas, born from the Sun and the Moon, there were developed in India 101 families, and of these families, the Bhōjas of the lunar-race were the most numerous and occupied the middle land.[1] From this account Mr. C. V. Vaidya infers that the first race of Kṣatriyas which came to India was called solar-race and the second race of Kṣatriayas which came to India subsequently, and was as later called the lunar-race, came through Kāśmīr and thrust themselves like a wedge through the territory of Srāvasti or the modern Ambala downwards as far South-Kathiawar and Jubbulpur or

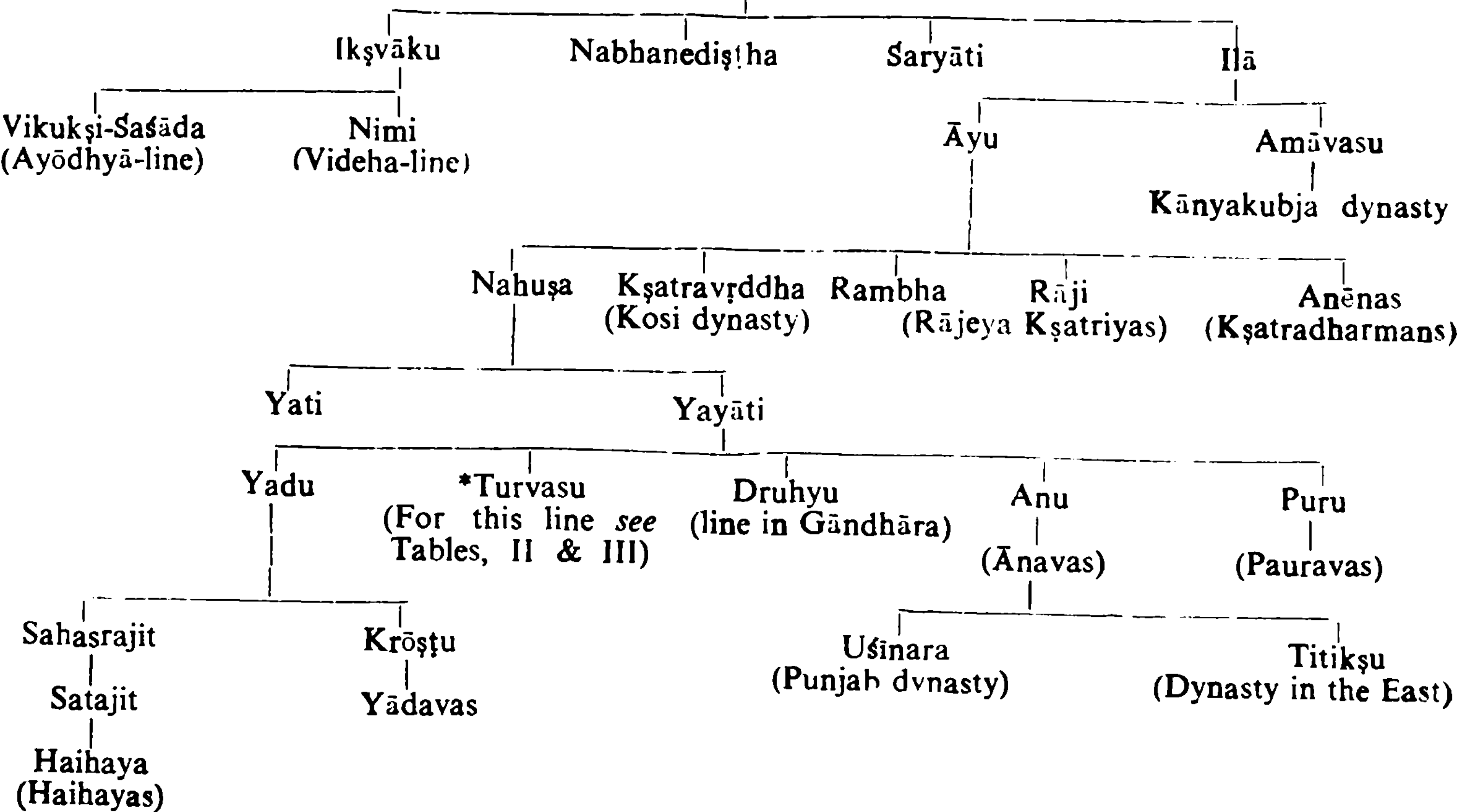
[1] *The Mahābhārata Sabhā*

even further south, covering many Bhōja kingdoms especially, the Saurasena, Chedi, Magadha, Vidarbha and the Yādava kingdoms of Dvārakā.[1]

Pargiter says in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* that the lunar-races and their branches produced some families who ruled in different parts of India. In this connection he writes—

"Turvasu's line is given in nine *Purāṇas*, and all are in general agreement, except that there is great variation in some of the names. The *Agni* wrongly includes in it the Gāndhāras who were Druhyus, and the *Viṣṇu*, *Garuḍa* and *Bhāgavata* omit the last part. Marutta, the great king of this dynasty (whom the *Matsya* incorrectly calls Bharata), had no son and adopted Duṣyanta, the Paurava, and thus the line is said to have merged into the Paurava line, as the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Brahma* and *Harivaṁśa* declare. Yet, it is added that from this line or from Duṣyanta there was a branch which founded the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Chōla, Kērala, etc., in the south. The line stands thus, greatly abbreviated—Turvasu, Vahnī, Garbha, Gobhānu, Trisānu, Karandhama, Marutta, Duṣyanta, Sarutha (or Varutha), Aṇḍīra ; and Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kērala and Kulya or Kōla".[2] Different branches ruled in different parts of India. A list is given in the following table:—

[1] *The Solar and Lunar Kṣatriya races of India in the Vedas* by C. V. Vaidya
[2] Pargiter's *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 107-108 ff.


TABLE 1
[QUOTED FROM PARGITER'S ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORICAL TRADITION, P. 88]
Manu Vaivasvata
Ikṣvāku
Nabhanediṣṭha
Śaryāti
Ilā
Vikukṣi-Śaśāda
(Ayōdhyā-line)
Nimi
(Videha-line)
Āyu
Amāvasu
Kānyakubja dynasty
Nahuṣa
Kṣatravṛddha
(Kosi dynasty)
Rambha
Rāji
(Rājeya Kṣatriyas)
Anēnas
(Kṣatradharmans)
Yati
Yayāti
Yadu
*Turvasu
(For this line see Tables, II & III)
Druhyu
(line in Gāndhāra)
Anu
(Ānavas)
Puru
(Pauravas)
Sahasrajit
Satajit
Haihaya
(Haihayas)
Krōṣṭu
Yādavas
Uśīnara
(Punjab dynasty)
Titikṣu
(Dynasty in the East)

Pargiter writes—

"All the royal linages arc traced back to the mythical Manu Vaivasvata. He is said to have had nine sons, and also a daughter named Ilā or an eldest son, Ila, who was turned into a woman Ilā.

Ilā had a son, Pururavas Aila, the progenitor of the great Aila race, who reigned at Pratiṣṭhāna (Allahabad). The early part of the Aila-genealogy from him to Yayāti's five sons is given by twelve Purāṇas and twice by the *Mahābhārata* and a part is also given by the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Pururavas is said to have six or seven sons, and there is some variation in their names, but only two are important, and nearly all the authorities agree about them, namely, Āyu or Āyus, and Amāvasu. Āyu continued the main line at Pratiṣṭhāna and from Amāvasu was descended the dynasty of Kānyakubja (Kanauj). Āyu had, by Svarbhānu's daughter, Prabhā, five sons who are all mentioned as important, namely, Nahuṣa, Kṣatrabṛiddha, etc. Nahuṣa continued the main line at Pratiṣṭhāna.

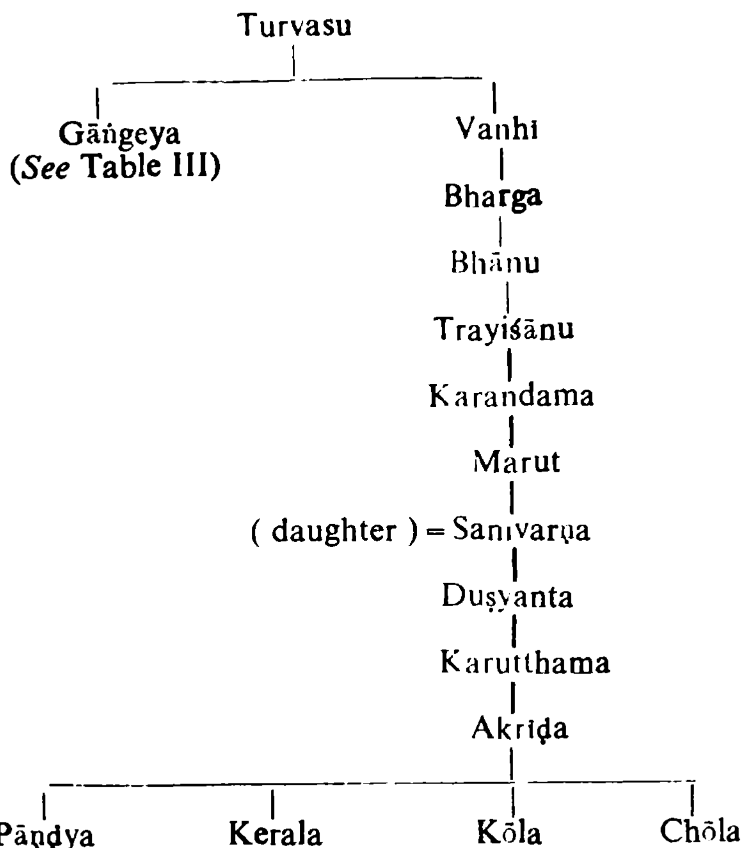
Nahuṣa had six or seven sons by *Pitṛi-Kanyā*, Virajā, which no doubt means his sister. Only two sons are important, Yati and Yayāti··············Yayāti had two wives, Devayāni, daughter of Bhārgava-ṛiṣi (Uśanas-Śukra) and Śarmiṣṭhā, daughter of the Daitya-Dānava-Asura-king, Vṛiṣaparvan. The former bore two sons, Yadu and Turvasu, and the latter three, Druhyu, Anu and Puru. Yayāti divided his territories among them, and thus his kingdom developed into five kingdoms. From his sons were descended the five famous lines of the Yadus or Yādavas, the Turvasus, the Druhyus, the Anus or Ānavas and the Purus or Pauravas."[1]

[1] Pargiter's *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 84—87 ff.

"The Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the land of the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from S. Gayā to Orissa. All North and East Bengal was held by the Prāgyotīsa kingdom which is no where connected with any of these races and would seem to have been founded by an invasion of Mongolians from the north-east, though traditions are silent about this outlying development. The configuration of the five Ānava kingdoms in the east, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, Sumhas and Kaliṅgas, which held all the seacoast from Ganjam to the Ganges delta, and formed a long compact curved wedge with its base on the seacoast and its point above Bhagalpore, suggests that there had also been an invasion from the sea, that penetrated up to the Ganges valley, living the hilly tracts on its west and east alone; and this conjecture, if reasonable, would mean that the invaders had driven the Saudyumna-stock into those hilly tracts, and that had taken place before those five kingdoms were formed. But, there is no trace in tradition of any such invasion of this distant region. All the rest of Northern India and the north-western parts of Dākṣiṇātya had been dominated by the Aila-stock.........." [1].

According to the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Yayāti divided his kingdom among his five sons. Turvasu was given the country lying to the south-east of Pratiṣṭhāna. The line of Turvasu as mentioned in the *Purāṇas* is given below:—

[1] Pargiter's *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 262-263



In the copperplate inscriptions of the Imperial Gaṅga Kings of Orissa the verses from Nos. 3 to 12 deal with the mythological account of the dynasty. [1] They are translated by N. N. Vasu as follows:—

(V. 3) From the Lotus-like navel of Viṣṇu sprang Brahmā; from Brahmā, Atri; and from the eyes of Atri sprang the moon whose rays illuminated the universe. He, although equal to the sun in his power to devour the darkness potent enough to eat up the three worlds, surpassed him in transparency, because darkness

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV (1896), pp. 258-259 ff. For a comparative study of the copperplate inscriptions of the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa, please refer to my paper entitled "*The Kenduli copperplate inscription of Narasimhadeva-IV*" published in the *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 1—100 ff.

is seen through his person in the shape of the black spot apparent on his surface.

(V. 4) He, being a brother of Lakṣmī, gives delight to the universe; being a friend of nectar, destroys the poison-like darkness: and as a younger brother of the celestial tree *Kalpa*, is enjoyed by all the *Devas*. But, having all these blessed qualities combined in him, he defeats each of them by unfolding his purity before the universe. He reigns supreme.

(V. 5) Several kings were born in his dynasty. Their glories, partially delineated in the *Purāṇas*, did not stop there. They became themselves for several Kāvyas; and now, as if assuming living forms, they are travelling throughout the world, halting in the ears of the hearers.

(V. 6) When on the face of the earth is so many tongued a person with as many tongues as can proclaim the great military explits of every king of the Lunar dynasty ? The description of the glories acquired by the prowess of one of the members of the family (Arjuna) has taken up a *Mahābhārata*. Therefore, only the names of the kings of this dynasty are here given in the order of precedence.

From Chandra sprang Budha, from Budha Anala, from Anala Pururavas, from Pururavas Āyu (Āyus), from Āyu Nahuṣa, from Nahuṣa Yayāti, from Yayāti Turvasu, from Turvasu Gāṅgeya, from Gāṅgeya Virocana, from Virocana Saṁbedya, from Saṁbedya Bhāsvan, from Bhāsvan Dattasena, from Dattasena Saumya, from Saumya Aśvadatta, from Aśvadatta Saurāṅga, from Saurāṅga Citrāṅgada, from Citrāṅgada Śiradhvaja, from Śiradhvaja Dharmaiṣī, from Dharmaiṣī Parikṣit, from Parikṣit Jayasena, from Jayasena Vijayasena, from Vijayasena Vṛṣadhvaja, from Vṛṣa-

dhvaja Pragalbha, from Pragalbha Śakti and from Śakti sprang Kōlāhala known as Anantavarman.

(V. 7) There was a famous city named Gaṅgavāḍi. It was wealthy, prosperous and fit to be the abode of gods. Anantavarman became its first king. He and his successors were known by the title of Rūpa Gaṅga.[1]

(V. 8) Because the hostile kings (while he was fighting at the head of the battle) raised a tumult (Kolāhala) and (went to) the abodes of the gods, his (capital) became equal to the abode of gods and was named Kōlāhala. In that city several kings reigned in succession.

(V. 9) When the eldest Narasiṁha is reigning what shall we do here—We, who delight in forcibly carrying away the goddess of prosperity by conquering the world with our prowess ? Let the creeper-like sword in our hands exercise in the forest of the necks of our enemies. Let the creeper of our glory ascend to Heaven.

(V. 10) Of the lords of men, they with Kāmārnava as their fifth, while roaming over the world with the object of conquest were in some places honoured by their enemies, in others, they had to destroy the families hostile to them. In this, they reached not only Kaliṅga but along with it *Uḍra* also. (When they reached there), the Tortoise Incarnation of Hari rose, as it were, from the sea to see them.

(V. 11) What more can be said in praise of these kings belonging to the Gaṅga dynasty than that, at the time when in battle, they snatched away by force all the lands belonging to the Kaliṅgas, and the fortune long enjoyed by others, the devine tortoise, the three eyed Śiva at Gokarṇa as well as on the Mahendra,

[1] N. N. Vasu reads Rūpa Gaṅga for Rūḍhi Gaṅga The translation should be accordingly revised.

the sea, and the Sun and the Moon in the sky, all bore witness to the occasion.

(V. 12) Among them, Kāmārṇava, the ruler of the world, was the progenitor of a line of kings. His sons and grandsons were kings of renowned in arms.

From the inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga,[1] we gather that Kāmārṇava who was driven away from his parental home by his paternal uncle, came to Kaliṅga with his four brothers, like the five Pāṇḍavas, and in a pitched battle, they killed one Savarāditya, and worshipping the god Gōkarṇasvāmin at the top of the Mahendra-hill, they established a kingdom round about Mahendra. Kāmārṇava distributed the land between his four brothers, himself being the emperor of the country (Kaliṅga) and ruled from the city named Jantāvura.

Gatē tatra narēndrāṇāṃ
Kōlāhalapurī-bhujāṃ
Ēkāśītyaṃ ca tadvaṁśē
Vīrasiṁhō bhavan = nṛpaḥ ।
tasya Kāmārṇṇavas = sūnu
Dānārṇṇava-Guṇārṇṇavau
Mārasiṁha iti khyātō
Vajrahastākhya pañcamaḥ ॥
atha Kāmārṇṇavō datvā
pitṛvyāya nijām = mahīṃ
prāyāt pṛthvīṃ bhuvaṃ jētuṃ =
Mahēndraṃ bhrātṛbhir = giriṃ ।

tatra ca sakala - sur = āsura - siddha-sādhya - kirīṭa-kōṭi-vighṛṣṭa-masṛṇa-caraṇa-pīṭham = ārādhya Gōkarṇṇasvāminasya prasādāt = samāsādita - vara-vṛṣabha - lāñchanas = samupa-lavdha sakala-sāmrājya-cihnar = upaśōbhamānas = sa narēndrō Mahēndrācala-śikharād = avatīryya Yudhiṣṭhira iva caturbhir = anujair = anugamyamānas = samara-nīrasika-Bālādityan = nirjjitya Kāmārṇṇavaḥ Kaliṅgān = agrahit Tasya c = āpahasita-Surēndra-puraṃ Jantāvuran = nāma nagarī rājadhāny = āsīt......"[1]

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[1] Vizagapatam plates, *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 61 ff.

Above is the reading of Dr. Fleet from the Vizagapatam copperplate inscription of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva of Śaka year 1040 (1119 A. D.) But, Prof. G. Sitapati's reading of the Korni copperplate grant of the same king differs from the reading of Dr. Fleet in one place only. G. V. Sitapati reads 'Samara Śirasi Savalādityaṁ nirjjitya.' [1]

Fleet translates it thus—

"His son was Kolāhala, who built the city named Kolāhalapura; in his lineage there was born the king Virasimha. His sons were five in number. Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta. Kāmārṇava gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle and with his brothers set out to conquer the earth, and came to the mountain Mahendra. Having there worshipped the god Gokarṇasvāmin, through his favour he obtained the excellent crest of bull; and then, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, having descended from the summit of the mountain Mahendra, and being accompanied, like Yudhiṣṭhira, by his four younger brothers Kāmārṇava defeated (or killed) the king Bālāditya, who had grown sick of war, and took possession of the Kaliṅga countries. And his capital was the city named Jantāvura which quite surpassed the city of (the god) Surendra.........". [2]

If Bālāditya is to be identified with the Gupta King of the 6th century A. D. whose second name is Bhānugupta, then we have to say that like the Huṇa king, Mihirakula, who fought against Bhānugupta's subordinate king Goparāja near Eran, the Gaṅga princes also killed Bālāditya (Bhānugupta ?) near the Mahendra in Kaliṅga. [3]

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[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 44 ff.

[2] *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 161 ff.

[3] Mr. G. V. Sitapati's reading and interpretation of this passage in the Korni Plates are not convincing. (*See* his paper in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I)

TABLE III

(Mythological Account of the Gaṅga genealogy)

(Vide Korni C. P. Grant of Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I)

1. Ananta
2. Brahmā
3. Atri
4. Candramā
5. Budha
6. Pururava
7. Yadu
8. Āyu
9. Nahuṣa
10. Yayāti
11. Turvasu
12. Gāṅgeya

(after 81 generations in this family)

13. Virocana (i)
14. Dattasena
15. Saumya
16. Aṁśudatta
17. Saurāṅga
18. Dharmma
19. Parikṣit
20. Jayasena
21. Vṛiṣadhvaja
22. Pragalbha
23. Kōlāhala
24. Virocana (ii)

106. Vīrasimha

107. (1) Kāmārṇava[1] (2) Dānārṇava (3) Gunārṇava (4) Mārasimha (5) Vajrahasta

[1] Kamarnava is the 107th King of this line. From the Lord Ananta in whose honour the title Anantavarma was used by the kings of this dynasty.

According to the Pithapuram Inscription [1] of Mallapadeve of E. Chālukya dynasty (A. D. 1202), the mythological portion of the genealogy runs as follows:—

1. Viṣṇu
2. Brahmā
3. Atri
4. Chandramas
5. Budha
6. Pururavas
7. Āyu
8. Nahuṣa
9. Yayāti [2]
10. Puru
11. Janamejaya
12. Prāchīśa
13. Sainyayāti
14. Hayapati
15. Sārvabhauma
16. Jayasena
17. Mahābhauma
18. Aiśāna
19. Krodhānana
20. Devaki
21. Ṛibhuka
22. Ṛikṣaka
23. Mitavara
24. Kātyāyana
25. Nīla
26. Duṣyanta
27. Bharata
28. Bhūmanyu
29. Suhotra
30. Hastin
31. Virochana
32. Ajamīḍha
33. Samvarṇa
34. Sudhanvan
35. Parikṣit
36. Bhīmasena

[1] *E. I.* IV, p. 226—242 ff.

[2] Our Table III corresponds with the above list from Viṣṇu (Ananta) to Yayāti only.

37. Pradīpana
38. Śāntanu
39. Vichitravīrya
40. Pāṇḍu
41. Arjuna
42. Abhimanyu
43. Parikṣit
44. Janamejaya
45. Kṣemaka
46. Naravāhana
47. Śatānīka
48. Udayana

[After 59 kings of this race, who sat on the throne of Ayodhyā had passed away, a king named Vijayāditya was born.]

TABLE IV

Narasimha Deva (II)'s C. P. Grant (Kendupatna)

[*J. A. S. B.*, 1896 (Text) pp. 235–237]

1. Ananta
2. Brahmā
3. Atri
4. Chandra
5. Budha
6. Anala *
7. Pururava
8. Āyu
9. Nahuṣa
10. Yayāti
11. Turvasu
12. Gāṅgēya
13. Virochana
14. Samvēdya *
15. Bhāsvan *
16. Dattasēna
17. Saumya
18. Aśvadatta

* The star-marked names are not found in the Table No. III

19. Saurāṅga
20. Chitrāṅgada *
21. Śiradhvaja *
22. Dharmma
23. Parikṣit
24. Jayasēna
25. Vijayasēna *
26. Vṛiṣadhvaja
27. Pragalbha
28. Śakti *
29. Kōlāhala—Anantavarmman

W. W. Hunter holds, with regard to the origin of the Gaṅgas, that "the origin of the new dynasty remains a matter of dispute. The local legends point to the southern coast as the starting point of the race; but, evidence is not wanting to connect them with Bengal and their family name, the Gangetic line, (Gaṅgavaṁśa), appears to support the view". Mount Stuart Elphinstone believes that they were a dynasty of the Gangetic valley and their original kingdom could be located at the areas between Tamluk and Midnapore.[1] He quotes the authority of H. H. Wilson.[2] For an elaborate account see Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, *Vol. 4*, pages 17 to 24 and also pages 5, 14 and 968 *Passim*. Here, as in elsewhere, we confine ourselves to stating the conclusion at which Hunter had arrived after consideration of the evidence available to him.

The only area that can lie to the west of the Mahēndra Hill which was occupied by the Gaṅgas in the mediaeval-age is somewhere near the same hill in the district of Ganjam, which was connected with the range of hills extending as far as Central India

* The star-marked names are not found in the Table No. III

[1] *History of India*, p 245, Mr. Cowell's edition

[2] Preface to *Machenzi's Papers*, *CXVII*

and the Vindhya Mountains on one side and to the east coast on the other. In the copperplate grants of Kīrtirājadēva of the 12th Century A. D.[1] there is the mention of his having brought some learned Brāhmaṇas from Gaṅgavāḍi, a place which could be located in Madhya Pradesh in accordance with the description of the area contained therein. Gaṅgavāḍi, the original home of the Gaṅgas may, therefore, be located in the Madhya Pradesh. Sri Brajabandhu Das, B. L., in one of his papers, states that the belief of some scholars that the Gaṅgas originally ruled in Central India is mainly derived from a fanciful interpretation of the term 'Droṇija-Vaṁśa' (found in certain inscriptions in that part of the country) as 'Gaṅga Vaṁśa'. But, we are not able to accept this idea for reasons explained in the next chapter. Hunter's view, as stated before, does not also relate to Gāṅgēya and his descendents, but to only the Gaṅgas who came to Orissa. As these kings came from Kaliṅga which is a portion of South Orissa, the local traditions are not acceptable. According to the *Temple Chronicles of Jagannātha*, the renowned king of this family named Choḍagaṅga came from the south-coast, the country which was called 'Karṇāṭaka'. We know, without a shadow of doubt, from inscriptions that Choḍagaṅga came from Kaliṅga. So, we are sure that the temple records of Jagannātha are not reliable. The south-coast, which is referred to in the said *Chronicles*, is no other country than Kaliṅga. The views given in the *Purushōttamachandrikā* as well as by Sterling are both derived from the same *Temple Chronicles* and need not be accepted. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, who is of opinion that they were ruling in the Gangetic valley, locates their kingdom somewhere near Tamluk and Midnapore. But, that area was called

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II

Daṇḍabhukti under Gopachandra in the 5th century A. D.[1] The copperplate grants of Chōḍaganga give a long line of kings from Gāṅgēya downwards. According to these inscriptions, there was a king named Kolāhala who built Kolāhalapura as his capital.[2] Eighty-two generations passed in that city before his (Kolāhala's) descendent, Kāmārṇava, came to Kaliṅga. The Jaina literature contains a story that one Mādhava, son of Padmanābha, came from the north; that Siṁhanandi, a Jaina priest, was pressed by the qualities of the boy and trained him in the art of war and that the boy founded a kingdom and became the ancestor of the Western Gaṅgas who belonged to the Kāṇvāyana *gotra*. The original home of the Gaṅgas, as supposed by us, is in the Madhya Pradesh; but, the region in which the newly established dominion lies is to its south and thus the traditional story appears to have an element of truth. A branch of the kings, ruling in Madhya Pradesh, migrated to the south and subdued Bāṇa and Koṅkaṇa countries which were situated in the west coast. Their rule commenced in the first half of the 2nd century A. D. and they are known as the Western Gaṅgas, while another branch migrated later on, probably in the 7th century A. D., and became known as the Eastern Gaṅgas. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji says, "the Gaṅga-Vaṁśa chiefs of the Ex-State of Bāmra are distinctly from the Eastern Gaṅgas, who claim direct descent from the Western Gaṅgas of Mysore".[3] But, there is no such direct claim in any of the Gaṅga-records.

As for the Western Gaṅgas, although their *gotra* and religion are different from those of the

[1] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XI, No. 4, p. 206

[2] Kolāhalapura is also mentioned as Kolāulā in some copperplates of the Svetaka-line of the Gaṅgas.

[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 16 ff.

Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, the *Virudas* or the family epithets, adopted by both the families, prove that they originally belonged to one parental stock. A copperplate inscription was discovered from Mysore which records a grant of a Gaṅga King of Kaliṅga, Dēvendravarman by name. He made certain gifts of land to his *guru*[1] who was residing in Śrīśaila, a religious centre of South India, wherefrom some inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas were also found. Thus, we gather that Mādhava, the mythical king of that (W. Gaṅga) dynasty, who was blessed by the Jaina hermit, Siṁhanandi, was offering his worship somewhere near Śrīśailam and the Western Gaṅgas began to rule in Gaṅgavāḍi having their capital somewhere near Kōlār (Kōlāhalapura) in Mysore. The modern Kōlār is identified with Kōlāhalapura. Probably, the Western Gaṅgas were tempted to name their capital as Kōlāhalapura and the country where they ruled as Gaṅgavāḍi after the old names of their original land from where they migrated. A large number of copperplate inscriptions, found in Ganjam and Śrīkakulam districts, mention the names of Kolāhalapura and Gaṅgavāḍi together with Kaliṅga-nagara as the important political seats of the Eastern Gaṅgas. The Badakhimundi copperplate inscriptions which belong to the Svētaka branch of the Gaṅgas mention Kōlāhalapura as their capital and state that they are the worshippers of the god 'Nandagirinātha', which name is also given in the copperplate inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas of Mysore. Further, the royal emblem of the W. Gaṅgas is the elephant-crest which is also mentioned in a copperplate grant of Dēvendravarman of Kaliṅga, which was discovered from Mysore[1]. It indicates that the Kaliṅga Gaṅga,

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[1] *See* No. 29 in Ch. IV above

Dēvendravarman, was closely related to the W. Gaṅgas; because a similar royal emblem is invariably found in all the copperplate inscriptions of the W. Gaṅgas who embraced Jainism.[1]

Let us now deal with the initial *era* of the Gaṅgas which was used in Kaliṅga under the caption "*Gaṅga-Vaṁśa-Pravardhamāna-Vijayarājya-Saṁvatsara*" or the 'auspicious and victorious *era* of the Gaṅga Dynasty'. Examination of this *era* is essential to trace the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, because the determination of the exact date of the Gaṅga-rule in Kaliṅga will solve many difficult problems in the history of Orissa, as well as of South India. Unfortunately, there is a great divergence of opinion among scholars regarding the starting point of this *era*. We have, therefore, discussed the question separately in Appendix I. According to our calculation, the Gaṅga *era* started in 626-627 A. D.



[1] The elephant is a religious crest of the Jainas

CHAPTER II

(Accounts of the Greek writers)

As we have said in the previous chapter, Yayāti's five sons occupied different regions in Bhāratavarṣa. One of these branches was the line of Turvasu, who established his kingdom in the south-eastern region. In the *Mahābhārata* we find that the Kaliṅgas were divided into three in different places. Meghasthenes, (according to his *Indica*), states that this area was divided into three parts, namely, *Gaṅgāriḍae-Kaliṅgai*, *Mocco-Kaliṅgai* and *Moḍo-Kaliṅgai*. Meghasthenes was sent by Seleucus Nicator as an envoy to the court of Chandragupta Maurya where he lived for some time and wrote his famous book. Unfortunately, the original work is lost; but, an abstract of it was subsequently composed by Pliny, Arrian and others, writers of the Early centuries of the Christian era.

We are told that Alexander learnt from Prince Bhāgala that on the further bank of the Gaṅgā lived two great nations, namely, the Gaṅgāriḍae and the Prasii, whose king Agramones (Xandramas = Sandrokottas = Chandragupta) maintained for guarding his country 20,000 cavalry and a large infantry as also 2,000 four-horsed-chariots and 3,000 elephants. These tribes, living in the Gangetic valley in the time of Chandragupta, must have possessed great military strength. The Prasii and the Gaṅgāriḍaes of these regions may be identified with the Prācī and with Kaliṅga respectively. The term prāchī is the ancient name of a river near Koṇārka in Orissa, possibly a river now found in the district of Puri. Its last reach is known as Chandrabhāgā, which subsequently converted into a great *Saura Tīrtha*.

Diodoros Siculus, in his *Bibliotheca Historica*,[1] states that Alexander obtained from Phegelas an account of the country beyond the Indus which comprised a desert and then arrived at the Ganges and finally the dominion of the nation of the Prasii and Gaṅgāriḍae whose king Xandramas had an army of 20,000 horse, 2,00,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants. Poros confirmed the account and added that the king of the Gaṅgāriḍae was a worthless man being the son of a barber. Alexander urged his troops to march against the Gaṅgāriḍae in vain.

Mc. Crindle gives the following account of the Gaṅgāriḍae:—

"These people occupied the country about the mouths of Ganges, and may best be described as the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. The likeness of their name to that of the Gaṅgāriḍae, the people of Gāndhāra whose seats were in the neighbourhood of the Indus and the Kophen or Kabul river, has been the source of much confusion and error. Fortunately, the notice of them in the *Indica* of Meghasthenes has been preserved both by Pliny and Solinus, from whom we learn that they were a branch of the great race of the Kaliṅgai, that their capital was Parthalis and that their king had an army of 60,000 foot, 1,000 horse, and 700 elephants, which was always ready for action. They are mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* as a people who dwelt about the mouth of the Ganges and whose capital was Gaṅges.[2] The name of the Gaṅgāriḍae has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit nor can it be, as Lassen supposed, a designation first invented by the Greeks, for Phegelas used it in describing to Alexander and the races that occupied the regions

[1] Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 281—283

[2] It is quite significant that the modern Ganjā (an old town of Ganjam) tally with this name (Author).

beyond the Hyphasis. According to St. Martin, their name is preserved in that of the Gonghris of South-Bihar with whom were connected the Gangayis and the Gangrar of North-Western and Eastern Bengal. These designations he takes to be but variations of the name which was originally common to them all. Wilford, in his article on the *Chronology of the Hindus*, mentions that "the great part of Bengal was known in Sanskrit under the name of Gancaradese, or 'Country of Gancara' from which the Greeks made Gaṅgāriḍaes". Wilford, while discussing this, says that this view must be rejected on the same ground as that of Lassen's. The Gaṅgāriḍae are mentioned by Virgil (Georgies-iii-1-27). As their king, at the time when Meghasthenes recorded the strength of the army which he maintained was subject to Magadha, we may infer that Sandrocottos treated the various potentates who submitted to his arms as Alexander treated Taxilas and Poros, permitting them to retain as his vessels, the power and dignity which they had previously enjoyed."

From the above, it can be ascertained that in the time of Alexander, the 'Poros' or the 'Pauravas', living in Punjab, were the first who resisted with great vigour the onward march of the most powerful army of the world of that time which belonged to the ruler of Mecedonia. The war technique of the western world led to the destruction of the armies of the Poros; and Alexander proceeded to the eastern regions. But, his aggression was checked somewhere near the Prāchī river, which was a part of Kaliṅga or, according to the Greek terms, the 'Gaṇgāriḍae-Kaliṅgai'. Those who were living in the Prāchī valley, were called by the Greek historians as the *Prasiis*. Probably, the then ruler of that region was a descendant of Turvasu, another collateral branch of the Purus (Poros). So, it

may be presumed that extending from Punjab up to the east coast, the whole region was occupied by the Kṣatriyas of the Lunar Dynasty. As *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Harivaṁśa* state that the line of Turvasu was occupying the land in the south-eastern portions of India, the Gaṅgāriḍaes may conveniently be identified with that Kṣatriya race.

The Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravēla discloses that the king possessed of a title called '*Aira*' which might have been derived from the Purāṇic name '*Aiḷa*'. *Aiḷa* was a son of *Manu* about whom we have already discussed before.

Pliny, in his *Natural History*, locates in the lower part of the valley of the Ganges the 'Brachmanae' (a name comprising of many tribes) among which are the Mocco-Kaliṅgai. The tribes called Kaliṅgai are nearest to the sea and higher up are the Mandei and the Malli in whose country is mount Mallus, the boundary of that area being the Gaṅgā. The final part of its course is said to be through the country of the *Gaṅgāriḍaes*. The royal city of Kaliṅgai is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 700 elephants kept watch and ward, being ready for war.

According to Pliny, another tribe called Moḍo-Kaliṅgai occupied a large area of island in the Gaṅgā; and beyond them lived several tribes, chief among them being 'Anḍarae' and 'Manḍae'. The distance from the mouth of the Gaṅgā to Cape-Kaliṅgae and the town of 'Daṇḍagula, is said to be 625 miles. Another writer in his "*Catalogue of Indian Races*" refers to the people living in the farthest part as the 'Gaṅgāriḍaes', whose king possesses 1,000 horses, 700 elephants and 60,000 foot-soldiers. In the Gaṅgā, there was a populous island occupied by a powerful nation whose king had 50,000 foot-soldiers and 4,000 horses.

The ancient geography, as could be traced out from the Greek literature, is interesting so far as the country lying between the Gaṅgā and the Godāvarī are concerned. The whole tract of land was named as the Gaṅgāriḍae-Kaliṅgai, the Mocco-Kaliṅgai and Moḍo-Kaliṅgai. Some scholars are of opinion that the subsequent change of the name from Kaliṅga to Trikaliṅga was mainly due to the existance of three Kaliṅgas as mentioned by the Greek writers.

Vogel states, "Aśoka's two separate Rock Edicts of Dhauli are addressed to the governor and the ministers of Tōṣalī. This enables us to locate Tōṣalī in Kaliṅga". James Prinsep indentified this with Tōṣalī, the metropolis mentioned by Ptolemy, although that place is located in the region beyond the Gaṅgā. We may, perhaps, connect the name of Tōṣalı with 'Dosara' of Ptolemy and with Dosarene, the name of the country beyond Masalia, mentioned in the *Periplus*. The name Dosarene is usually explained to be the Greek rendering of the Sanskrit Daśārṇa.[1] There are serious difficulties which are to be faced in the identification of these places. First of all, a *Prākrit* form of Daśārṇa, from which the Greek form must have been derived, would certainly have not retained the "R" which we find in Dosara and Dosarene. The long "Ō" vowel of Greek could also be difficult to account for. Besides, the tribe of Daśārṇa, as far as we can make out from Indian sources, appears to have been settled in Central India, and not along the coast. On the other hand, Dosara might have been a dialectic form of Tōṣala. The *Periplus* states that Dosarene yielded ivory known as Dosaranick. Yuan Chwang, in his account of Kaliṅga says that it was the home of great brand of wild elephants which were praised by neighbouring provinces[2].

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[1] *Periplus*, translated by Mr. W. H. Scholf, p. 235 and Mr. N. L. Day's *Geographical Dict.*, 1927, p. 54.

[2] *E. I.* XX, p. 8 ff.

The Patna plates of Yayāti mention the river, 'Dōsanarīya', which was in the Sanula Viṣaya of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. This evidence supports the view that the river which started from Dakṣiṇa Kōśala was flowing through the country named Daśārṇa. Tōṣalī is a country and a town near the coast of Kaliṅga. It is mentioned in two separate Rock Edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli and in some copperplate inscriptions found in the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri.[1]

While editing the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji state that the term Kaliṅga is usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of Madras. In the *Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with Aṅga (South-West Bengal), Vaṅga (East Bengal), Puṇḍra (North Bengal) and Suṁha (South-West Bengal). The names of these countries were given according to the names of the sons of Bali.[2] Tradition treats Kaliṅga to an early Āryan conquest. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kaliṅgas were mentioned on three separate occasions and each time the term deals with different peoples. In the *Vana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the mention is as follows :—

> ētē Kaliṅgāḥ Kauntēya yatra Vaitaraṇī-nadī ।
> yatrāyajata dharmō'pi dēvāt=saraṇam=ētyavē" ॥

"Ōh ! Kaunteya ! this is the country, where the Kaliṅgas live and here the river Vaitaraṇi flows where Dharma (or Yama) himself performs the yajña, etc." It proves that the extent of Kaliṅga in the north touches the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack district.

In the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Kaliṅga is associated with the Māhiṣya country (later Māhiṣmatī). This text would indicate that Utkala was included in

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[1] *E. I.* IX, p. 286 and Vol. XV, p. 1 ff. For details *see Insc. of Orissa*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 147—153

[2] Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 102 and 109

Kaliṅga at the time of Khāravela Aira and the latter name of Oḍra had no association with it. The country, named Māhiṣmatī, was extended from Ujjayinī as far as the lower parts of the Gōdāvarī.

The transfer of the term Utkala to include the plain country along the coast is, therefore, a later development. After Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga, in or about 261 B. C., the mention of Dhauli in his edicts is important as showing that Kaliṅga was extending as far as the heart of Dhauli and, therefore, it can be concluded that Dhauli was only a subdivision of the great Kaliṅga. The town of Dhauli, which was situated not far from the Mahānadī, is in all probability the ancient Tōṣalī for, according to Haraprasada Sastri, Tōṣalī is etymologically identical with Dhauli. It is quite probable that the second edict of Aśōka at Jaugaḍa in Ganjam was incised for the officers of Aśōka living in the southern division which formed the main part of the kingdom of Kaliṅga having its headquarters at Samāpā.[1] Burnell quotes the following from Pliny's account[2] regarding the country of Trikaliṅga:—

"*Insula in Gange est magnae amplitudinis jenetem continens unem, nomine modogalingam*". Again, he says that Dr. Caldwell in his *Comp. Grm.* (pp. 64-65) took this to be for the old Telugu 'Mōdaga' and 'liṅga' and to mean "three liṅgas" and thus, accepted the native etymology of 'Telugu'. There can be no doubt that it is merely "Muḍu-Kaliṅga or Three-Kaliṅgas,"

[1] *I. A.* Vol. V, pp. 82—102 and *Arch. Sur. Southern India*, Amarāvati, by Burgess, pp. 114—125. For the town Samāpā *see* Hultzsch's *Aśōka* in *CII* Vol. I, p. 117. Some scholars identify Samāpā with the modern Sompeta in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. But, in our view, it should be identified with the present village Sammā near Jaugaḍa in the Aṭhagaḍa Taluk in Ganjam district of Orissa. It is also very near to Ganjā.

[2] *The Natural History*, VI, 67 of the edition published by Trubner

and it has nothing to do with *liṅga*. The native etymology of 'Telugu' first occurs, I believe, in the "Kārikā of Atharvaṇāchārya who copied and quotes Hēmachandra, and who, hence, could not have lived before the thirteenth century".[1] × × × ×
"Cunningham recognises the three Kaliṅgas, but, he doubts about the name having anything to do with the "Liṅga". [2]

Up to the time of Ītsing or even later, the route between Kaliṅga and other foreign countries was so well-known that the foreign pilgrims could not have missed oversight the name of this country in their descriptive accounts. Under the caption "*Buddist Pilgrims from China to India*" Mr. Beal gives the following account: —

"Hui Ning, a priest of Yihchau (in *Chi-li*), left China by sea for the South in the year 665 A. D. and passed three years in the country called Ho-ling. This is generally the equivalent of the Kaliṅga-country, but it seems also to be used for the country along the coast of Pegu as well as to an island in the southern seas".[3]

From the accounts given in the *Si-yu-ki* (tome II, p.82), it is understood that Samataṭa or Baṅga was lying to the south-west of Śrī-kṣetra and closely associated with the far Eastern Islands.[4] Probably, it is the old name of Burma and there was cultural unity established with Kaliṅga and Śrī-kṣetra which name was imparted to Puri some time later.

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[1] *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 519
[2] *South Indian Palaeography*, by A. C. Burnel (1878), page 23, f. n. 1
[3] *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 194
[4] *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 197

In ancient times, Kaliṅga is said to have extended up to the Amarakaṇṭaka hill in the west. The following *śloka* is quoted from the *Matsya Purāṇa* :—

Kaliṅgadēśa—paścārddhē
Parvatē 'marakaṇṭakē |
Pūṇyā ca triṣu lōkēṣu
ramaṇīyā manōharāḥ ‖ [1]

In the country lying between the east coast and the Amarakaṇṭaka there lived the Mekalas, the Utkalas and the Kaliṅgas who were respectively the Mocco-Kaliṅgai, Gaṅgāriḍae-Kaliṅgai and Kaliṅgai of Meghasthenes. The Maikal range of the Vindhya Mountain still bears evidence of the habitation of the Mekalas in it. Some scholars even proceed so far as to search for the derivation of the word 'Kaliṅga' from the aboriginal Kui language [2].

In the *Śaktisaṅgama-tantra*, it is stated that from the eastern portions of Jagannātha (Puri) the country of Kaliṅga extends to the south as far as the river Kriṣṭṇā and its length was 58 *yojanas* or 464 miles.[3]

From an unpublished palm-leaf manuscript entitled "*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*", found from a village in Gumsur Taluk in Ganjam district, we find that the boundaries of Kaliṅga lay between the rivers Ṛiṣikulyā in the north and the Jhañjāvatī in the south [4].

From epigraphical sources, we gather that in the time of the Māṭhara kings who used the glorious title of *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*, the kingdom of Kaliṅga

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[1] *The Matsya Purāṇa*, Vol. II, p. 38

[2] *I. A*, Vol. LIV, p. 226

[3] "Jagannāthāt pūrvabhāgāt Kṛṣṇā-tīrāntagam Śivē |
Kaliṅgadēśa samprōkta Rāma-mārga-parāyaṇaḥ ‖
Kaliṅgadeśam=ārabhya pañcāṣṭa-yōjanaṃ Śivē |
Dakṣiṇāsyām mahēśāni Kaliṅga parikīrthitaḥ ‖"

[4] "Ṛṣikulyāṃ samāsādya yāvat Jhañjāvatī-nadī |
Kaliṅgadēśa prakhyātō dēśānāṃ garhitas=tadā ‖"
(*Vide I. O.*, Vol. II, p. 333)

extended from the river Mahānadī in the north as far as the Kṛiṣṇā in the south.[1] The Māṭharas or the *Pitṛbhaktas* ruled Kaliṅga from the 4th century up to the end of the 6th century A. D. An inscription of Prabhañjanavarman of about the 6th century A. D. reveals that a king called Prabhañjanavarman who belonged to this dynasty and ruled Kaliṅga, expanded his territory from the Mahānadī up to the river Kṛiṣṇā. According to the *Mahākavi* Kālidāsa (5th century A. D.), the country of Kaliṅga extended to the south from the banks of the river Kapiśā or the Kasāi [2]. Long before the Gupta period we get hints from the *Mahābhārata* that the river Vaitaraṇī, where the god Dharmma was performing *yajña*, was flowing in Kaliṅga-deśa.[3] From a description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we are informed that Bharatha reached Ayōdhyā after crossing the city of Kaliṅga (Kaliṅga-nagara). The verse is quoted below:—

Vyapāyād – Rāghavas – tūrṇṇaṃ
tīrtvā Sōṇaṃ Mahānadīṃ
Kaliṅganagarē c – āpi
prāpya Sālavanaṃ tadā |
Bharathaḥ kṣipram – āgachat
supariśrānta-vāhanaḥ
Vanaṃ ca samatīrtvāsu
śarvaryyām – aruṇōdayō ||

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[1] *E. O.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 112—118; *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 44—47 ff.

[2] Sa tīrtvā Kapiśāṃ sainyair–
vaddha-dvirada-sētubhiḥ |
Utkal–ādarśita-pathaḥ
Kaliṅg–ābhimukhaṃ yayau |
(The Raghuvaṁśaṃ, 4th Canto)

[3] *The Mahābhārata, Vana Parvan*

ete Kaliṅgāḥ Kauntēya
yatra Vaitaraṇī-nadī |
Yatrā–yajata Dharmō'pi
dēvāc–charaṇam–etya vai |

This quotation shows that Bharatha could reach Ayōdhyā (the modern Fyzabad District in U. P.) from Kaliṅganagara within one night by riding at the quickest possible speed on a horse back. It is described that he crossed the rivers Sōṇa and Mahānadī and a forest named Sālavana which may be identified with Sālavani in Keonjhar District. Therefore, it can be easily surmised that he passed through some Ex-Garjat States of Orissa and reached Ayōdhyā within one night through a short-cut route.

The ancient Kaliṅga of the time of Aśōka was later divided into several independent units and, to its north-east, the country named Tōṣalī being a contiguous area comprising of Ōḍra, Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapur and Bankura in West Bengal), was separated from Kaliṅga. The copperplate inscriptions, discovered from North Ganjam and the Puri District, disclose the fact that in the 6th century A.D. Tōṣalī was again divided into two halves, namely, Dakṣiṇa Tōṣalī and Uttara Tōṣalī. The Kanās copperplate inscription of Śrī Lokavigraha designates its donor as *Aṣṭādaśa-Toṣalādhipati*, *i.e.*, the Lord of Eighteen Tōṣalīs.[1] From this it is quite clear that Tōṣalī was divided into eighteen parts, each part being a separate unit placed under a separate subordinate king. The Sumaṇḍala copperplate inscription of the time of Śrī Pṛithivīvigraha, Lord of Kaliṅgarāṣṭra who lived in the Gupta *era* 250 or 570 A.D., shows that he (Pṛithivīvigraha) was an overlord of another king named Dharmarāja. It is a very important document so far as the history of Kaliṅga is concerned as it leads to infer that the Gupta supremacy extended over the entire coastal tracts of Kaliṅga. From these inscriptions it is also clear that in the 6th

[1] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 261;
E. I. XXVIII, p. 331 and *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 120 ff.

century A.D. the ancient Kaliṅga country was divided into two equal parts, each being ruled separately by a different prince. Within these two principalities, there was a small kingdom called Koṅgada, which was mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and was under the Śailōdbhavas who became extinct towards the 8th century. Their land was merged in Dakṣiṇa Tōṣalī by the succeeding Bhauma Kings. They (the Bhaumas) ruled over the country of Tōṣalī including Koṅgada and popularised Buddhism in that area at the same time when the Eastern Gaṅgas, embracing Brahmanism, established their rule in Kaliṅga which roughly extended from the Ṛiṣikulyā as far as the Gōdāvarī. We have no record to prove whether there was any contest between the Bhaumas and the Gaṅgas although their diplomatic relation in Kaliṅga developed rivalry among the Gaṅgas who divided into two main groups, namely, the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and the Gaṅgas of Svētaka. We will deal with this aspect in our Sixth Chapter.

We have already stated that in the days of yore, Kaliṅga extended as far as the Amarakaṇṭaka to the west. Both the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and *Kūrma-Purāṇa* [1] show that the Narmadā drained the western half of Kaliṅga, occupied by the Amarakaṇṭaka, within the regions, lying between the east-coast and the Amarakaṇṭaka Hills where lived the Mēkalas, the Utkalas and the Kaliṅgas who were respectively called by Meghasthenes as the *Mocco-Kaliṅgai*, the *Gaṅgāriḍae-Kaliṅgai* and the *Kaliṅgai*. The Maikāl range of the Vindhya Mountain still bears evidence of the habitation of the Mēkalas in that region. From inscriptions of the medieval period, we notice that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings had occupied

[1] *The Matsya-Purāṇa*, 185th chapter, verse 9.
The Kūrma-Purāṇa, 199th chapter, verse 9.

that part of the country and gradually extended their sway from Dakṣiṇa Kōśala to Utkala and ruled at Śirpur from the 7th century onwards. The Buddhist *Jātaka stories* and the *Ceylonese Chronicles* mention Siṁhapura and Dantapura as the two capital cities of Kaliṅga. Aśōka's Dhauli, at the foot of a rock called Aswasthāmā [1] near Bhubaneswar on the banks of the river Dayā, was probably the capital of Tōṣalī, a part of Kaliṅga. As a matter of fact, Aśōka's Kaliṅga roughly extended from the river Gaṅgā as far as the Gōdāvarī in the south, and that was divided into two separate divisions for political purpose, administered separately as northern and southern units from Dhauli and Samāpā respectively.

While editing the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, K. P. Jayaswal says that the term 'Kaliṅga' was usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of Madras. But, so far as Tōṣalī is concerned, it was within the limits of Kaliṅga as has been mentioned in two separate rock edicts of Aśōka at Dhauli and some copperplate inscriptions of the Cuttack District.[2]

In the *Śakti saṅgama - tantra*, referred to above, the boundaries of Kaliṅga have been defined as beginning from the eastern part of Jagannātha (Puri), extending to the south as far as 58 *yōjanas* or 464 miles. But, this extent varied from time to time until, in the time of Chōḍagaṅga, it was confined between the mouths of the Gaṅgā and the Gōdāvarī. Originally, the north-eastern limit of Kaliṅga touched the borders of the Gaṅgā somewhere near Tāmluk and Midnāpore. It was rapidly Āryanized although the Drāviḍian

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[1] For *Aśōka's* rock edicts of Aswasthāmā, *see* Hultzsch's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 84 ff.

[2] *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 286 and Vol. XV, p. 1

people had settled in that tract long before. It is curious to note that some terracotta figurines as well as ornaments, used in ancient days by the Drāviḍians, were profusely found from the excavation, conducted in 1948 at Śiśupālgaḍa near Bhubaneswar. Some of these specimens are preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, and they prove the settlement of the Drāviḍians in this part of the country, far these ornaments are still used by the South Indian people. Anthropologists have concluded that the Oriyas sprang from an admixture of the Drāviḍians and the Āryans; and it is quite plausible that towards the south of the Vindhya, particularly in the regions of the Tel-valley, there was a Drāviḍian settlement even in the medieval times and they were displaced by the Āryans only so late as the period of the Sōmavaṁśi rule in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Some scholars believe that the name 'Telugu' is a derivation from the word 'Tel'. It may also be interpreted as the 'people who were intelligent and of quick understanding'. The ancient country, named Gondrama, which extended from Midnapore as far south as the Balangir and Sundargarh districts of Orissa, was probably the ancient country named '*Gondramas*' which is found mention in the old Greek Literature. Probably, the Chēdis and the ancient Kṣatriyas of the lunar-race, who acquired the whole region of the Deccan-plateau, practically overwhelmed the country, occupied till then by the Drāviḍian people. Among them, the Chōlas, the Chālukyas, the Śailōdbhavas and the Bhaumas are noteworthy. They had also close association with some aboriginal tribes who were living in the hilly regions of this part of the country. Indeed, the Śailōdbhavas had traced their origin from an aboriginal ruler of the Mahēndra Mountain, named Pulindasēna, who received an Ārya Kṣatriya (as the divine gift to him), called Śailōdbhava, the progenitor of that dynasty.

In Sanskrit, the word 'Śailōdbhava' means the river 'Gaṅgā' just like the dynasty known as Drōṇija Vaṁśa of the Vindhya region.

Alexander Cunningham writes, The old town of Pehoā is situated on the south bank of the Saraswati, 14 miles to the west of Thaneswar. The place derives its name from the famous *Pṛithu Chakravarti*, who is said to have been the first person that obtained the title of *Rājā*. At his birth, according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*,[1] all living creatures rejoiced, because he was born to put an end to the anarchy which then prevailed over the whole earth. The story of the cure of the Rājā Veṇu's leprosy, by bathing in the Saraswati is told in the same *Purāṇa*. On his death his son, Pṛithu, performed the usual *Śrāddhas* or funeral ceremonies, and for twelve days after the cremation, he sat on the bank of the Saraswati offering water to all comers. The place was, therefore, named 'Pṛithūdaka' or 'Pṛithu's pool', from '*daka*' or '*udaka*' water; and the city which he afterwards built on the spot was called by the same name. The shrine of *Pṛithūdaka* has place in the *Kurukṣētra Māhātmya* and is still visited.[2]

In Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, we find the mention of 'Pithūdaka dabha' as one of the metropolitan towns of Kaliṅga. Vimalcharan Law, in his *Geography of Early Buddhism* (page 65), writes that 'Pithūdaga' is the same word as the Sanskrit term 'Pithu-Daka' and 'Pithuda' is only a short form of 'Pithūdaga'. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, we find a reference to Pṛithu Rāṣṭra which is only the Greek form of 'Pithuḍā'.

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[1] Book I 13, Hall's Edition of Wilson's translation, i – 183

[2] *The Ancient Geography of India* by A. Cunningham, p. 336-337 ff.

Prof. Sylvain Lēvi says that Ptolemy locates Pitundra in the interior of Maisolos and *Manadas, i. e.*, between the delta of the Gōdāvarī and the Mahānadi, nearly at an equal distance from both. It would, therefore, be convenient to search for its location in the interior of Srikakulam and Kaliṅgapāṭaṇā towards the coast of the river Nāgāvalī which bears also the name Lāṅguliyā.

It is presumed that Ptolemy's *Manadas* may be identified with the present Maindā (locally called for the Mount Mahēndra) which is not very far from Srikakulam; and probably 'Maisolos' is the present 'Maliyas' in the Ganjam Agency which are closely connected with the Mahēndra range of mountains.

In the medieval history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, we find that their country was surrounded by the Mount Mahēndra on whose summit their family god Gōkarṇasvāmin was installed. It is also mentioned in the opening *Praśasti* of each ruler of the Eastern Gaṅgas. One of the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava Kings gives a beautiful description of the Mahēndra Mountain with its beauty and sanctity in a verse as quoted below:—

Prācy = āmbhōnidhi-hāra-sāndrar = atulaḥ
puṣpadrumālī = vṛtaḥ
syandan = nirjjhara-vāri-dārita-darī-
phēna-skhalan = nisvanaiḥ ।
spandat = trasta = patatri-valgu-birutair =
āpūrit = āntar = gṛhaḥ
Śrīmān-Mēru-sakhō vṛhat = kulagiriḥ
kṣātō Mahēndra-kṣitau [1] ॥

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[1] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, No. I, pp. 60 ff;
Ins. Or., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 192; *E. I.* XXX, p. 33 ff.

We are told that in the epic age, Parśurāma was living in this mountain where Mahārathi Karṇa learnt the art of archery from him. We are also told that a Haihaya Prince named Sahasrārjuna was defeated by Parśurāma while that prince was travelling at the foot of the Mahēndra Hill. The Chēdis of Mahā Kōśala and the Kaliṅgas of the east coast were not on good terms since time immemorial; and even in the inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries, we find that they were hostile to each other, one trying to intruding upon other's territory.

Elphinstone writes that Teliṅgānā forms a part of the western limit of the Telugu language which, however, must be prolonged in the same rough way to Chandā, on the river Wardā. From this the northern boundary runs still more distinctly east to Sonpur on the Mahānadi. The eastern limit runs from Sonpur to Srikakulam and then along the sea at Pulicat where it meets the boundary of the Tamil language. He further says that the "URYA language is bounded on the south by that of Teliṅgānā, and on the east by the sea. On the west and north, a line drawn from Sonpur to Midnapore in Bengal would in some measure mark the boundary".

Before the advent of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, the whole tract was under the Imperial Guptas as known from the use of the Gupta *era* in some inscriptions of the 6th century A. D. Before coming to this point, we would like to cite here the Allahabad inscription of *Mahārāja* Samudra Gupta who, according to Dr. Fleet, came to the Deccan or Kaliṅga where he defeated some petty chieftains. Dr. Fleet contributes certain valuable suggestions for consideration of the historical geography of Southern India during that

confusing period. The following passage of the Allahabad inscription is worth mentioning:—

Kausalaka Mahēndra, Mahākāntāraka Vyāghrarāja, Kaurālaka Maṇṭarāja, Paiṣṭapuraka Mahēndra, Giri-Kauṣṭūraka Svāmidatta, Airaṇḍapallaka Damana, Kāñcēyaka Viṣṇugōpa, Avamuktaka Nīlarāja, Vaiṅgēyaka Hastivarmmā, Pālakkak – Ōgrasēna, Dáivarāṣṭraka Kuvōra, Kausthalapuraka Dhanañjaya, Prabhṛti Dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja-grahaṇa - mōkṣānugraha-pratāpōnmiśra-mahābhagyasya ...[1]

This passage shows that Samudra Gupta's first expedition was towards the country of Kōśala whence he proceeded towards Mahākāntāra. No where he mentions the names of Utkala, Koṅgada, Oḍra, Tōṣali and Kaliṅga, although he swept over at least the territories of Kaliṅga while marching towards the south. He reached the regions of the Mahēndra Hill where he subjugated one Svāmidatta of Girikōttura. In this connection, Dr. Fleet writes, "In the first instance,—coming immediately after the mention of the city of Piṣṭhapura which is the modern Pithapuram (in the Āndhra Pradesh), the syllables *Mahēndragiri* suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahēndra Mountain in the Ganjam district, among the Eastern-Ghauts, which is mentioned in other early inscriptions...... And this tempts us to divide the passage thus:

Paiṣṭhapuraka-Mahēndragirikautturaka-Svāmi d a t t a, and to translate as "Svāmidatta of Piṣṭhapura, and of Kōttura on Mahēndragiri." Another rendering that might suggest itself is "Svāmidatta of Piṣṭhapura, Mahēndragiri and Kōttura, which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kudura for Kōttura, was

[1] Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 8

adopted by Dr. Bhau Daji".[1] (vide *CII*, Vol. III, p.7, f. n. 2).

About A.D. 340, Samudra Gupta left his capital Pāṭaliputra and marched directly towards the south. First, he conquered Southern Kōśala where the king Mahēndra was reigning in the vicinity of Sirpur and Sambalpur. He then crossed the forests of that area to the south of Sonpur and found there a small kingdom, Mahākāntāra.[2] All the States of the Deccan, mentioned in the Allahabad piller inscription, belonged to the East Deccan, as Airaṇḍapalli[3] (Amudalavalasa on the South-Eastern Rly.) and Dēvarāṣṭra[4] were in Ganjam and Srikakulam districts, according to the latter inscriptions.[5]

The route of Samudra Gupta, so far as I presume, was strictly confined to the Ganjam Māliyas and to the districts of Balangir and Kalāhāṇḍi on the banks of the river Tel. In the Kalāhāṇḍi and the Balangir borders, on the bank of the Tel, there is a hill-fort named Amāṭhagaḍa. After crossing the river Tel, he proceeded towards the Ganjam-Māliyas *via* Kaliṅgiyā-ghāṭ in G. Udayagiri taluk and entered into the ancient land of the Bhañjas which was then probably known as Kurālaka. The present name of the old capital of the Bhañja Kings of Gumsur is Kurāla[6] or Kulāḍa. Samudra Gupta defeated one Mahēndra in Kōśala (Dakṣiṇa Kōśala) whose name is not found in any epigraphical sources. Some time back, I secured a gold coin, discovered from Madanpur-Rampur in Kalāhāṇḍi where the name of Mahēndrāditya is given in

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[1] *J. R. A. S.* (Bom. Br.), Vol. IX, p. CXCVIII

[2] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 61

[3] *E. I.* XII, p. 212 ; *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, p. 81 ff.

[4] *M. E. R.* 1908-1909, p. 109

[5] *Buddhist remains in Andhra*, pp. 119--125 ff.

[6] A village named Kurāla near Nayāgarh in the Puri district, may be identified with Kurāla of the Gupta inscription.

box-head character of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.[1] I presume that Mahēndrāditya of that gold-coin might be the same as the king Mahēndra, mentioned in the Allahabad *Praśasti.*

Mahārāja Samudra Gupta defeated one Vyāghrarāja in Mahākāntāra, which may be identified with the present forest area that extends from Kalāhāṇḍi to the Mahēndra Mountain. Then, he proceeded to Kurāla where he subdued one Maṇṭarāja. Afterwards, a king named Mahēndra of Piṣṭhapura was defeated by him. We need not jump from the Gumsur area to the Godāvarī district as Dr. Fleet does in identifying Piṣṭhapura with the modern Piṭhāpuram of that district.

So far as the place called Kurāla is concerned it is, however, plausible that this name might have been changed into Kōlāhala or Kōlāhalapura which was selected as an important seat of government by the Eastern Gaṅgas.

According to the Gaṅga inscriptions, a king named Kōlāhala built the city of Kōlāhalapura in whose lineage was born the king Vīrasiṁha of the Gaṅga dynasty. His sons were five in number, Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṁha, and Vajrahasta who migrated to Kaliṅga and established a new kingdom there.

While editing the Atakur inscription of the time of Krisṇa (III) (Rāṣṭrakūṭa), Dr. Fleet remarks, this record refers to a variety of places.................in the titles of 'Perānanādi-Būtuga', it mentions the town of Kulāla and the Nanda Mountain. Mr. Rice[2] has taken Kōlāla to be the same as Kōlāhalapura of the

[1] Mahēndrāditya is the second name of Kumāra Gupta; but, the type of the coin and the process of minting are different from those of the coins of Kumāra Gupta.

[2] *RG. Mysore inscriptions*, page XXVIII

Eastern Gaṅga records and then identified it with Kōlār, in the east of Mysore. This identification of the two names, Kōlāla and Kōlāhala, is probably established by the statement in the Eastern Gaṅga grants that Kōlāhala was in the Gaṅgavāḍi Viṣaya.[1] The identification of the place with Kōlār may be correct; but, I do not know of any conclusive proof of this. There is in the map, a small village named 'Kōlāla' close to Dēvarāyadurg in the Kortagiri Taluk of Tanjur district, Mysore, and it seems that Kōlāla may possibly the ancient name of Dēvarājadurg itself.

It may also be suggested that the name of the metropolitan town, Kōlāhala, which was the city of the Western Gaṅgas of Mysore, was subsequently adopted by the Eastern Gaṅgas when they migrated to Kaliṅga and established their own kingdom there. Probably, Kurāla of the time of Samudra Gupta changed to Kōlāhalapura, where a branch of the Gaṅgas, known as the Svētaka Gaṅgas, lived. In some of their grants the name of that city is given as Kōlāhalapura-Pāṭaṇā or Kōlāvulā or Kōlāla, all referring to one and the same place.

During Samudra Gupta's expedition (although the name of Kaliṅga is not mentioned in his Allahabad Praśasti) he subjugated some petty kings lived in small territories within the country of Kaliṅga. For example, Damana of Eraṇḍapalli and Kubēra of Dēvarāṣṭra lived as petty kings in Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra. The name Eraṇḍapalli is mentioned in one of the Gaṅga records of the 2nd century (Gaṅga *era*).[2] Similarly, Devarāṣṭra is also mentioned

[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 170

[2] *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, pp. 81—85 ff.

in some other records. These are all contiguous parts of Madhya Kaliṅga, captured by the Eastern Gaṅgas.

So far as the 'Mahēndra-giri-Kottura' is concerned, it can be said that the place was somewhere near the Mahēndragiri in Ganjam where, according to the copperplate inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava kings, there was a ruler called Pulindasēna who adopted a youth named Śailōdbhava to rule over that country. It clearly proves that that region was occupied by some aboriginal tribes, namely, the Pulindas, the Śavaras and the Khoṇḍs. According to a local tradition which is popular among the Śavaras, two brothers named Rāmmā and Bīmmā, migrated to this place and made the Mahēndra Mountain (Maindā) their abode. From them sprang the present Śavara race whose association with the Lord Jagannātha of Puri is popular in the legendry accounts, connected to the temple of Jagannātha. A Vasu Śavara was the first known disciple of the said deity, originally called by the name of Nilamādhava who, in course of time, converted into a Hindu god under the name of Śrī Puruṣhōttama, at the instance of a ruler of Mālava, Indradyumna by name. We are further told that one Vidyāpati, a brāhmaṇa priest, who married the daughter of the Śavara king Vasu, was the progenitor of a tribe called Suāra who are now performing the duties of *Sevakas* in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha. From these traditional accounts, it is believed that the southern region of Orissa was occupied by some aboriginal tribes and probably their kingdom extended towards the west, penetrating some portions of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.[1] From the Navagrāma grant of *Mahārāja* Hastin of the Parivrājaka family, we find that a village named

[1] This portion of the country was known as Gondrama consisting of eighteen divisions and ruled by the Sulkis in the medieval age.

Navagrāma was granted to some Brāhmaṇas and that village was located in the kingdom of Pulindarāja or the aboriginal king.[1] *Mahārāja* Hastin was a subordinate ruler under the Imperial Guptas since the word '*Gupta-Nṛipa-Rājya-Bhuktau*' is mentioned in his record. The learned editor of the said grant says that 'Pulinda-Rājya' was located in the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. These Pulindas are also mentioned in the '*Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*' along with the Śavaras, with whom they have been always living.[2] Their association with Kaliṅga is also corroborated from a story mentioned in the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, a Sanskrit *Kāvya*.[3]

Recent discoveries prove that after Samudra Gupta the entire east-coast was under the Imperial Guptas. The Sumaṇḍala copperplate inscription of Śrī Pṛithivi-vigraha,[4] the Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja Śailōdbhava, a subordinate ruler of Śaśāṅka of the Gupta year 300 (A. D. 620),[5] the Kanās copperplate inscription of Śrī Lōkavigraha of Gupta year 280,[6] the Paṭiākelā copperplate inscription of Śivarāja of Gupta year 283[7] are clear indication of the Gupta supremacy over the countries of Tōṣalī and Kaliṅga. Some of these inscriptions are dated as "*Gupta-Rājya-Kālē*" and "*Guptāvdē*" from which terms it can be elicited that the kings who issued these grants were subordinates under the Guptas.

The latest date of the Guptas, hitherto known from epigraphical sources, is 224 (A. D. 543-544), mentioned in a Damodarapur copperplate inscription,[8]

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[1] *E. I.* XXI, p. 126 ff.

[2] Brahmi *era* IX 29, Majumdar's edition: Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India*, pages 156—160.

[3] Cunningham, *A. R. A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, page 130.

[4] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 66—69 ff.; *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 79—85 ff.

[5] *E. I.* VI, pp. 143—146 ff.

[6] *K. H. R. J.*, Vol. III, pp. 261—266 ff.; *E. I.* XXVIII, p. 331 ff.

[7] *E. I.* IX, pp. 285—288 ff.; *Ins. Or.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 124

[8] *E. I.* XV, p. 140 ff.

found in the district of Dinajpur (Bengal) along with four other plates which belong to. Kumāra Gupta (I) of the Gupta *era* 124 and 129) and Budha Gupta. While editing these plates, R. G. Basak remarks that Kumāra Gupta, mentioned in those plates as "*Parama Daivatā-Parama - Bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*" was the son and successor of Chandra Gupta (II) and the province of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) was under his sway. That part of the country was ruled by one of his subordinates (*Uparika*), Cirātadatta, who, as a Governor of that province, appointed one Vetra-varman as a chief of the district named Kōṭivarṣa.[1] A system of feudalism was introduced in the time of the Imperial Guptas and this supports the above theory.[2] Skanda Gupta appointed governors (*Sarveṣu deśeṣu vidhāya gotrin*), in or about the Gupta year 137 and 121. It is, therefore, likely that the rulers of Tōṣalī and Kaliṅga, before the 7th century A. D., were following the same system as was done for Cirāta-datta in Puṇḍravardhana. The title of Śri Lokavigraha of the Kanās plate— "*Tōṣalyāyāṃ-aṣṭādaśādhirājyayā Paramadaivatādhidaivata*" etc. is as appropriate as that of Pṛithvīvigraha's overlordship over Dharmarāja, a subordinate ruler of Padmakhōli, as per the Sumaṇḍala copperplates, referred to above.

It is, however, a pertinent question to be noted here that while the above mentioned Dharmarāja, a dependant ruler, styled himself as *Mahārāja*, his overlord Pṛithivī-vigraha is styled as a ruler of Kaliṅgarāṣṭra. It may be explained that the relationship between them was like that between a Provincial Governor and a *Mahārāja*, living in the same Province during the British-rule in India. Probably, some family connection was there

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 116
[2] Fleet's *CII*, Vol. III, No. 14

between the Vigrahas and the Guptas which, if discovered, should wipe out a lot of mist looming over the history of the Imperial Guptas. Dr. B. C. Sinha[1] states that Kumāra Gupta who succeeded Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya, lived up to 530 A.D. Viṣṇu Gupta, Kumāra Gupta (III)'s son, continued to rule after him, according to the Nālandā Seal.[2] Probably, Viṣṇu Gupta or his successor, Jivita Gupta (I), might have been the contemporary of Pṛithivīvigraha of Kaliṅgarāṣṭra, who, according to the Sumaṇḍala plates, lived in the Gupta *era* 250 or A.D. 570. It is, therefore, clear that the imperial structure of the Guptas was not colapsed till 570 A.D. in spite of several raids by Tōramāṇa, Mihiragula, Yaśōdharman and the Maukharis of Magadha, who were responsible for the decline of the Gupta Empire. The rapid rise of Yaśōdharman caused the downfall of the Guptas in Northern India. According to Dr. Sinha, Kumāra Gupta (III) suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Yaśōdharman in or about 530 A.D.[3] Yaśōdharman is said to have possessed a very extensive territory lying between the Lāuhitya or the Brahmaputra and the Western Ocean from east to west and between the Himālayas and the Mahēndra Mountain from north to south. In the Māndasore piller inscription we get the following passage :—

"Lauhityōpakaṇ hāt = tala-vana-gahan-ōpatyakād – āmahēndrāt......... " (*Vide CII*, Vol. III, p. 146)

The Bhitari seal inscription[4] may be cited where mention is made of the genealogy of the Guptas. This inscription omits the name of Skanda Gupta and carries the pedigree through Puru Gupta, another son

[1] *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 65

[2] *E. I.* XXVI, p. 235 ff.

[3] *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 68 ff.

[4] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, pt. i, p. 84 ff.

of Kumāra Gupta (I) and the brother of Skanda Gupta. Just at that time the Gupta empire was passing through a troublous period owing to the Huṇa invasion. Although Skanda Gupta boasted that he had restored the fallen fortunes of his family, it is probable that the imperial power was greatly affected. Mr. Basak has rightly observed that about that period, the Gupta family was divided into several branches, and perhaps by mutual agreement, they began to rule over different provinces.[1] For instance, while the main branch was living in Magadha one branch began to rule in Mālava, another at Puṇḍravardhana and probably a third branch at Kaliṅga and Tōṣalī on the east coast which area was surrounded, according to their records, by *four oceans comprising of mountains, lands and cities.*

After Skanda Gupta, the Huṇa trouble did not cease, but increased day by day. An inscription of Bhānu Gupta[2] indicates that, about 510 A. D. one of his generals called Gōparāja was killed by his enemies somewhere near Eraṇ in Madhya Pradesh. Most probably, that enemy was none other than the Huṇa prince, Tōramāṇa. According to P. L. Gupta, Tōramāṇa's son, Mihuragula, invaded the Gupta kingdom during the reign of Narasimha Gupta, but was defeated. Mr. Gupta suggests[3] that Viṣṇu Gupta was the same as the Rājaputradeva bhaṭṭāraka of Dāmodarapur inscription, who may be taken as the last known king of the Gupta dynasty; and he may be the same as the 'Ukārākṣa Deva', mentioned in the verses from 671 to 676 of the *Ārya-Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*. It is known that one Dhanyaviṣṇu, brother of Mātṛuviṣṇu

[1] *E. I.* XV, p. 120 ff.

[2] Fleet's *CII*, Vol. III, No. 20

[3] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXVI, p 262 ff.

who was living under the Gupta sovereignty as mentioned in the Eran pillar-inscription of 484 A. D., is described in a later inscription as a subject of the Huṇa Prince, Tōramāṇa, after the death of his brother, Mātṛuviṣṇu. It is, therefore, possible that a portion of Mālava was subjugated by the Huṇas during the beginning of the 6th century A. D.

When we turn our attention towards Mālava, we find that after Budha Gupta, one Kṛiṣṇa Gupta rose to power. He was a contemporary of Harivarman Maukhari of Magadha, who helped the Guptas to check the Huṇa onslaught. At first, the Maukharis were under the Gupta sovereignty, but towards the close of the 6th century, they seemed to have become independent. Probably, this happened in the time of the Maukhari Īśānavarman. Like the Dharmarāja of the Sumaṇḍala plates, Harivarman styled himself as *Mahārāja* although his status was not higher than that of his successors like Īśānavarman, Sarvavarman, Avantivarman, etc.

The Maukharis seem to have attained sovereign status in Magadha through a matrimonial alliance with the Guptas. Harivarman's son, Ādityavarman, married a daughter of Kṛiṣṇa Gupta, known as Harṣa Guptā; and Īśānavarman married another Gupta princess, named Upa Guptā, probably a daughter of Upa Gupta; but, the Maukhari supremacy in Magadha, during the middle of the 6th century, existed only for a short period.

According to the Aphsad inscription, one Jīvita Gupta (I), a contemporary of Īśvaravarman Maukhari succeeded in reviving the past glory of his family. It is stated that he defeated his foes on a "sea side

shore". Mr. Dandekar is inclined to identify those foes of Jīvita Gupta with the predecessors of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa.[1] According to Haraha inscription, dated 554 A. D., Īśānavarman is the son and successor of Īśvaravarman, a contemporary of Jīvita Gupta (I).

The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasēna[2] proves that Mahāsēna Gupta's branch endeavoured to re-establish its power. Mahāsēna Gupta won a great victory over Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam). But, at the time of Bhāskaravarman, brother of Susthitavarman, the progress of the Guptas was considerably checked by the Puṣyabhūtis. The Madhuvan plates state that Deva Gupta, son of Ādityasēna, was treated as hostile to the king of Thāneśvar. But, Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the *Harṣa Charita* mentions the name of Mādhava Gupta as the ruler of Magadha in the time of Harṣavardhana. It is quite possible that a few branches of the Guptas were scattered in different zones, *viz.*, Magadha, Puṇḍravardhana or Gauḍa, Mālava, etc. Probably, another branch of the Guptas was surviving, as we have observed before, in the coastal tracts of Kaliṅga and Tōṣalī. Though they are supposed to have been living independently, it seems quite plausible that they joined hands while fighting with the rulers of Thāneśvara, in as much as Prabhākaravardhana was killed in Mālava by Śaśāṅka, the ruler of Gauḍa, who again happened to be the over-lord of Mādhavarāja,[3] Śubha Kīrti[4] and Sōmadatta,[5] posted in the coastal districts of Orissa.

The Vizagapatam copperplate inscription of Chōḍagaṅga[6] mentions that one Bālāditya was killed in the Mahēndra Mountain by Kāmārṇava, the usurping

[1] *Poona Oriental series* No. 74, p. 169
[2] Fleet's *CII*, Vol. III, p. 206
[3] *E. I.* VI, p. 143 and *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 157
[4] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI (1945), No. 1, p. 9 & *I. O.*, Vol. II, p. 144
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 7 and *Ibid.*, p. 141
[6] *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165 ff., *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, pt. i, No. 70

king among the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. According to Dr. Fleet, Bālāditya is the second name of *Mahārāja* Samudra Gupta. [1] From the pedigree of the Guptas, it is evident that the title *Āditya* was added to their names and, therefore, Dr. Fleet's theory may be considered as based on truth. But, according to Prof. Sitapati, the same text in another inscription of Chōḍagaṅga ought to be read as 'Śilāditya' or 'Savalāditya' whom Kāmārṇava had defeated in the Mahēndra region before he got the country of Kaliṅga into his own possession. So far as our information goes, there was no king of the name Savarāditya who might have been identified with any aboriginal ruler of that locality. Although the Pulindas were living in this tract, as we have stated before, it was not possible for them to rule over such a vast area when the Māṭharas or the *Pitṛibhaktas* were firmly holding the reigns of administration of Kaliṅga immediately before the advent of the Gaṅgas. Many copperplate inscriptions of the Māṭharas have been discovered till now from South Ganjam in Orissa and Śrīkākulam and Visākhapatnam districts of Āndhra Pradesh where the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas were also discovered. The names of some Māṭharas like Viśākhavarman, Umavarman, Chaṇḍavarman, Anantavarman, Prabhañjanavarman, Nandaprabhañjanavarman, Śaktivarman, [2] etc., do not resemble the names of the *Ādityas* which title was used by the Imperial Guptas, *e. g.*, Bālāditya, Mahēndrāditya, etc.

The Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman [3] inform us that the kingdom of the Māṭharas extended from the

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[1] Bālāditya is also the name of Narasimha Gupta, son of Bhānu Gupta, who lived in the 6th century A. D. I think, he is the contemporary king of Kāmārṇava who claims to have killed him at the Mahēndra region and captured Kaliṅga.

[2] *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 1—47 ff.

[3] *E. I.* XXX, p. 112 ff.

Mahānadī as far south as Kṛiṣṇaveṇī. Their supremacy over Kaliṅga started from Umavarman, who, in spite of using the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati*, is supposed to be a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and also a subordinate king under the Imperial Guptas like several other rulers who lived in the regions of Tōṣalī in the 6th century A. D.[1] The Gaṅgas must have defeated the last reigning-king of this dynasty before they came to this land. We know from the history of the Guptas that their supremacy declined some time between the last part of the 6th century and the first-half of the 7th century A. D., and their empire was divided among several principalities, and ruled by the Puṣhyabhūtis, the Chālukyas, the Śailōdbhavas, the Gaṅgas, etc.

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[1] *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 113—156 ff.

CHAPTER III

(The Political Condition of Kaliṅga)

BEFORE dealing with the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas from the 7th century onwards, we should examine the political condition of this country where existed different disruptive forces struggling for supreme power. As we have already observed, the Gupta supremacy was established for a long period in Kaliṅga, starting from the time of Samudra Gupta in the middle part of the 4th century A.D. The representatives of the Guptas, living in the coastal regions of Orissa, were the Vigrahas in whose family might have born the renowned King Śaśāṅka, a rival of *Mahārāja* Harṣavardhana of Thāneśvar. Harṣa had to fight with Pulakeśin (II), the great Chālukyan King of Bādāmi, with whom a treaty was concluded on the banks of the Narmadā, according to which, the Southern India was left under the Chālukyan monarch. So far as the question of Śaśāṅka's identity is concerned, the question is wrapped in obscurity, although several scholars have tried to illucidate some facts relating to the reigning position of Śaśāṅka who murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harṣa. Śaśāṅka's name is mentioned in the epigraphical records, discovered only in Northern Orissa, *e.g.*, from the northern taluks of Ganjam up to Midnapore in W.Bengal.[1] From these sources we glean informations about political relations between the then rulers of Kaliṅga and Śaśāṅka.

There is no indication about the name of the dynasty to which Śrī Lōkavigraha of Kaṇāsa plate of the Gupta Year 280 and Śrī Pṛithivīvigraha of the

[1] *E. I.* VI, pp. 143—146; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI (1945), pp. 7 & 9 ff.

same *era* 250 of the Sumaṇḍala copperplate inscription, have belonged. So, we prefer to call it as the Vigraha-dynasty, since the names of these rulers end with the suffix *Vigraha*.

The pharaseological order of the *Praśasti* or the family epithet, as used in these records, is one and the same. So, we can fix that Śrī Lōkavigraha of Tōṣalī and Śrī Pṛithivīvigraha of Kaliṅgarāṣṭra belong to one and the same family and that the former was probably the son or successor of the latter, as the durance of their reigning period does not exceed more than thirty years. There is also another set of copperplate inscription, found in Ganjam, where we get the same *Praśasti* used for Śaśāṅka, who happened to be the over-lord of Mādhavarāja of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgada and lived in the Gupta *era* 300 or A. D. 619-620.[1] These plates were also discovered from the same Khalikota taluk where the Sumaṇḍala plates of the time of Śrī Pṛithivīvigraha have been found. The style of writing in all these three copperplate grants is almost the same, and each inscription bears the date in the Gupta *saṁvat*, ranging from 250 to 300. So, within a period of 50 years, *i.e.*, from A.D. 570 to 620, Śrī Lōkavigraha, Śrī Pṛithivīvigraha and Śrī Śaśāṅka were ruling from the same locality, having adopted the same *Praśasti* as quoted hereunder: –

> "Catur – udadhi-salila-vīcī-nīlimāyāṃ sadvīpa-pattana-vatyāṃ vasumatyāṃ Gauptāvdē........"

This type of *Praśasti* was quite popular among the Gupta Kings. It is a fact known to every student of Indian history that each ruling dynasty of medieval

[1] *E. I.* VI, p. 143 ff.

India adopted a distinct *Praśasti* of its own, distinguishing its separate entity. Such *Praśastis* are invariably converted into family epithets of conventional nature denoting dynastic glories and achievements being used by each successive ruler, from generation to generation, even in absence of any individual credit or merit, capacity and valour as described in their *Praśasti*. Therefore, it is easy for us to recognise a family by mere examination of its *Praśasti*. We can apply this as a test to the above mentioned rulers of the Vigraha dynasty whose *Praśasti*, as translated by Dr. Hultzsch from Mādhavavarman-Śailōdbhava's grant, is quoted below:—

"While the Gupta Year 300 was current (and) while the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Śaśāṅka Rāja was ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdles of the waves of the water of the four oceans together with islands, mountains and cities....".[1]

As a matter of fact, the inscriptions of Kaṇāsa and Sumaṇḍala are bound to conform the views of those who believe that Śaśāṅka of the Ganjam grant was the ruler of the same name who reigned in Karṇasuvarṇa, mentioned by the Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang. It has also been suggested that he was a great rival of the *Mahārāja* Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. According to the Buddhist Literature, *e. g.*, *Bodhi Satva-Piṭakāvataṁsaka* and *Ārya-Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*, Harṣa defeated Śaśāṅka, confined him to his kingdom and prevented him from moving towards the south.

From the copperplate grants, which belong to the rulers of the Vigraha dynasty, it is clear that their empire extended from Kaliṅgarāṣṭra up to the eighteen sub-divisions of Tōṣalī; and several petty rulers were living under them as subordinate chiefs. The

[1] *E. I.* VI, p. 143 ff.

Midnapore Charter No. 1 of *Śri Sāmanta Mahārāja* Sōmadatta of Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala, and No. 2 of *Mahāpratihāra* Śubhakīrti of Daṇḍabhukti disclose the over-lordship of Śaśāṅka over Oḍra, Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti.[1] The following *śloka* is found in the Midnapore plates:—

"Kām – ārāti-śirō bhraṣṭa –
gaṅg – augha-dhvasta-kalmaṣāṃ ।
Śrī-Śaśāṅkō mahīṃ pāti
catur – jaladhi-mēkhalāṃ ॥"

The learned Editor of the above record translates this verse as follows:—

"While the illustrious Śaśāṅka is protecting the earth, whose girdle is formed by the four oceans; whose sins are washed away by the Ganges, fallen from the head of enemy of the Cupid, *i. e.*, Śiva...."

From the above epithets of Śaśāṅka, which tally with those of the documents of the Vigraha dynasty, there is no room to doubt that Śaśāṅka of the Ganjam plates [2] is no other than the Śaśāṅka of Mādhavarāja of Kōṅgada of A. D. 620, as well as of Śubhakīrti and Sōmadatta of Daṇḍabhukti, Oḍra and Utkala, that formed the sub-divisions of Tōṣalī. Hence, it is simply erroneous to say that Śaśāṅka-Narendra Gupta, the *Mahāsāmanta* of Karṇasuvarṇa (Murshidabad and Burdwan Districts of West Bengal), was the over-lord of these chieftains of Orissa, and that his dominion extended as far as the coast of Ganjam. While editing two sets of copperplates of the Śailōdbhava kings in the *Journal of the 'Kaliṅga Historical Research Society,*[3] I suggested that the epithets used in Ganjam

[1] *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. II, pp.1—9 ff.; *Ins. Or.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 141—146 ff.
[2] *E. I.* VI, p. 143—146 ff.
[3] *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, No. 1, page 71

plates give a picture of the country that was ruled by Śaśāṅka. Kōṅgada, the kingdom of the Śailōdbhavas being surrounded by the picturesque Chilkā lake and the Bay of Bengal, is the kingdom which fully tallies with that description, namely, *'Caturudadhi-salilavicinīlimāyāṃ·········'etc.*

It should be borne in mind that Karṇasuvarṇa is a hinter-land, about 300 miles far away from the bay, and cannot be identified with the districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan in West Bengal.

As a matter of fact, the ancient region of Kaliṅga was divided into two administrative divisions, namely, Tōṣalī and Kaliṅga and up to the time of Śaśāṅka, the whole territory was under one dynasty which represented the Imperial Guptas. It is evident that Śaśāṅka became independent when, in the north, the Gupta Empire started to decline. In this connection I would like to quote the opinion of J. P. H. Vogel, who, while editing a prakrit inscription (found in the Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍā in the Guntur District), has rightly observed that "It is very interesting to meet here with the name Tōṣalī. It will be remembered that Aśōka's two separate rock edicts of Dhauli are addressed to the governor and the magistrates of Tōṣalī. This enables to locate Tōṣalī in Kaliṅga".[1]

The Vigrahas had maintained a powerful suzerainty in Tōṣalī and Kaliṅga while the southern half of Kaliṅga was under the 'Māṭharas' or the 'Vāśiṣṭhīputras' who continued to rule independently sandwiched amongst some aggressive neighbours like the Vigrahas in the east, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the south and the Vākāṭakas

[1] *E. I.* II, p. 8 ff.

in the west. In the first half of the 7th century A. D. all these dynasties suddenly vanished from history and their places were filled up by the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Śailōdbhavas, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis. What mystery caused their sudden extermination has not so far been unveiled. I, therefore, venture to sum up these events from available facts, gathered from different sources, and to arrive at some conclusions on tentative basis.

Yuan Chwang visited the Coastal Orissa in A. D. 638-639. Mr. Watters says that "at the time of the pilgrim's arrival in these parts, as we learn from the life, this country had been invaded by Śilāditya (Harṣavardhana), King of Kanauj, and it was then apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom. And again it is known that when he was at Nālandā in A. D. 642 he heard of Harṣa's return from his invasion of Koṅgada."[1] Harṣa's campaigns in the East-Indian regions are remarkably associated with the name of Śaśāṅka, his great and powerful rival.

We know that the king of Mālava, an ally of Śaśāṅka, had attacked Kanauj and killed the king, the husband of Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākara-vardhana. So, Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harṣa, escaped to the 'Vindhyāṭavī'.[2] Incensed at the wrong done to his sister, Rājyavardhana led an expedition against Mālava and annexed it to his dominions. He then proceeded to conquer Eastern India where he was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka. This caused Harṣavardhana

[1] Watters' *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 335 ff.

[2] It is interesting to note here that Vindhyāṭavī was a kingdom, lying between Tōṣali and Mahākāntāra; it was ruled by *Mahārāja* Śatrubhañja, son of Māṇabhañja. in *Circa* 5th or 6th century A. D., as per a newly discovered stone inscription from Asanpāṭa village of the Keonjhar District (Orissa).

to march against his enemy. His march was crowned with success and accomplished the full subjugation of Śaśānka's territory. After this, he turned his attention towards Deccan, where he faced a great opposition from the Chālukyan monarch, *Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja* Pulakēśin (II) of Bādāmi. A great battle was fought between the two monarchs on the banks of the Narmadā, in which Harṣa was defeated; and thus Narmadā formed the southern boundary of his kingdom.

After linking this political situation with the sudden extinction of some royal dynasties, *viz.*, the Vigrahas, the Māṭharas, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Śarabhapuriyans from Tōṣalī, Kaliṅga, Vēṅgi and Dakṣiṇa Kōśala respectively, we have enough reason to believe that these events must have been interrelated. So, we offer the following explanation for linking these events:—

1. In A. D. 620, the country, lying between Midnapore and Ganjam, was under Śaśāṅka, a powerful monarch who happened to be the over-lord of many subordinate chiefs like Sōmadatta, Śubhakīrti of Uttara Tōṣalī and Mādhavarāja of Koṅgada and Dakṣiṇa Tōṣalī.

2. For some reasons or other, Śaśāṅka, the over-lord of Kaliṅga and Tōṣalī, and Pulakeśin (II) of the Deccan became the two enemies of Harṣa, in consequence of which the latter marched over Kōṅgada on such a scale that the invasion could not escape the notice of the Chinese pilgrim in or about A. D. 642.

3. Kōṅgada being the centre of administration of Śaśāṅka and his predecessors, the activities of the ruler of Thāneśvar were concentrated in that area.

4. The Śailōdbhavas, at first the subordinate chiefs of Kōṅgada, were probably won over as diplomatic

allies by Harṣa, and after encompassing the ruins of the Vigrahas including Śaśāṅka, were rewarded by Harṣa having been raised to the status of sovereign rulers of Kaliṅga.

5. Pulakeśin (II) began his invasion of the coastal tracts, probably aiming at Kōṅgada, after preparing on a large scale to take his soldiers with him through 100 vessels by sea-route. It is likely that the contemporary Māṭharas of Kaliṅga and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Vēṅgi obstructed the march of his army through their lands. Since Pulakeśin (II) and Śaśāṅka were the common enemies of Harṣa, they established friendly relation with each other. Thus, Pulakeśin's march over Kaliṅga after the defeat of Śaśāṅka may be taken as a retaliatory measure against the hostile conduct of the Śailōdbhavas which caused the ruin of Mādhavarāja. But, as Harṣa's activities in Central India were threatening Śaśāṅka, he could not afford to halt at Kōṅgada for a long period to check the down fall of the Śailōdbhavas. Pulakeśin too returned to the south leaving that area in a chaotic condition, after creating bad blood between the newly migrated Gaṅgas and the Śailōdbhavas. The latter became extinct due to some civil war in the subsequent period. [1]

It is necessary to mention here that the Śarabhapuriyans were ruling over the kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, when the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings possessed a status no more than that of subordinate chiefs (*Mahāsāmanta Rāṇaka*). From the Nagpur plates of the Śarabhapuriyans of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala [2] we gather that Nannadēva,

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[1] *J. B. O.R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 176—188 ff.

[2] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. 21, No. 4 of 1945

grandfather of Tīvaradēva of the Pāṇḍava dynasty, was only a (*Dūtaka* and *Mahābalādhikṛitā*) (Minister) under Mahāsudēvarāja, like the Mādhavarāja under Śaśāṅka and Dharmarāja under Pṛithivīvigraha.[1] At the same time, the Vākāṭākas had matrimonial alliance with the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and ruled the country from Nandivardhana. The Chikkula plates of Vikramēndravarman (II) of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty mention that he was an off-spring of two royal dynasties, namely, Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭāka.[2] As Mādhavavarman, father of Vikramēndra, married a Vākāṭāka princess, he might have become hostile to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi king, Tīvaradēva, who established his kingdom in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala suppressing the supremacy of the Śarabhapuriyans of Śiṙpur. Soon after this, he (Tīvara) made an alliance with the Maukharis, which was subsequently strengthened by the marriage tie between the Maukhari princess, Vāsaṭā and Harṣa Guptā, nephew of Tīvaradēva. [3] This marriage had a political motive behind it. The Maukhari king fought against the Āndhra king, who was probably a prince of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. V. V. Mirashi remarks that the "Maukhari kings, Īśānavarman and Īśvaravarman, were held in their southern campaigns by the Somavaṁśi (Pāṇḍuvaṁśi) kings of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. This also accounts for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman's invasion, and occupation of the capital of Tīvara."

The Pulombur and Ipura plates of Mādhavavarman [4] apply the following epithets to Mādhavavarman :—

"Trivara-nagara-bhavanagata-yuvatījana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ......"

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[1] Vide *Ins. Or.*, Vol. 1, pt ii, pp. 157 & 113

[2] *E. I.* IV, p. 193 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 113

[4] *Journal Dept. Let.*, Vol. XI, p. 31, and *E. I.* XXVII, pp. 333—337 ff.

This indicates that Mādhavavarman had not only captured the city of Tīvaradēva but also committed atrocities like abducting and assulting the womenfolk of that place. The defeat of Tīvaradēva in Kōṅgada in the hands of Dharmarāja (Śailōdbhava) and the invasion of Mādhavavarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin at the capital town (Śiṙpur) of Tīvara in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala might have taken place simultaneously during the reigning period of Tīvaradēva who must have sustained a heavy loss as invador and aggressor of Kōṅgada in support of Mādhavavarman. To avenge the atrocities of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Tīvara might have sought the help of his neighbouring ally, the Maukharis, who might have responded to his call. The combined force of the Maukharis and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings achieved success against the Āndhras or the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Vēṅgi. This attempt of Tīvaradēva tempted the ambitious king Pulakeśin (II), whose intention was to sabotage and merge the kingdom of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins into his own; and therefore, he must have readily extended his help to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis and the Maukharis. Moreover, the prolonged hostility between the Chālukyas and the kings of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala is proved from the Vadner plates.[1] We learn that Maṅgaleśa, the uncle of Pulakeśin (II) destroyed a 'Mātaṅga' tribe; and in A. D. 609 defeated one Budharāja in Mahā Kōśala. Any way, the situation has not only fulfilled the objects of Pulakesin (II), but also secured for him the friendship of the rulers of Central India, who extended their reciprocal help to him when he faced his powerful enemy, *Mahārāja* Harṣavardhana in the battle on the banks of the Narmadā. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins might have been helped by the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga; but, owing to their inadequate power of resistance against

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[1] *E. I.* VI, p. 294 and Vol. XXII, p. 30 ff.

the onslaught of the aggressive Maukharis, Pāṇḍuvaṁśis and Chālukyas, they were completely destroyed and became extinct, in consequence of which Vēṅgi fell into the hands of the Chālukyas; and Viṣamasiddhi Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, brother of Pulakeśin (II), was made its governor when Pulakeśin's own son, Ādityavarman, held sway in the south, in the district of Nellore and Kurnūl.[1] From the Chālukyan records we know that Viṣṇuvardhana lived up to A.D. 633. Therefore, the above mentioned raid against the Viṣṇukuṇḍins must have been accomplished before that date. The 'Vāśiṣṭhīputras' and the Māṭharas who deemed very powerful in the middle part of the 6th century A. D., were destined to extinction soon after that annexation took place in Kaliṅga. In the beginning of the 6th century A. D., one Prabhañjanavarman, son of Śaktivarman and grandson of Śaṅkaravarman of the Māṭhara dynasty of Siṁhapura (Kaliṅga) styled himself as the monarch of the countries, lying between the Kriṣṇaveṇi and the Mahānadi. His *Praśasti* runs thus :—

"Svasti Vijayasimhapurāt [1] Bhagavat-Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa-pādānudhyātaḥ, Māṭhara-kula-kīrtti-varddhana-karaḥ, Śrī Śaṅkaravarmmaṇō pautraḥ, Kṛṣṇavēṇṇā-Mahānady-āntarastha-prajā-dharmēṇ-ānuśāsinaḥ, Śri Śaktivarmmaṇō putraḥ, svakul-ālaṅkariṣṇus-Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipatiḥ, Śrī Mahārajā-Prabhañjanavarmmā........"

(Vide *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 44 ff.)

I have discussed about the genealogy and the period of rule of the Māṭhara Kings of Kaliṅga in my '*Inscriptions of Orissa*', Vol. I, pt. ii, pages 58—80,

Dr. G. Joubreau Dubreuil opines that 'Viṣṇukuṇḍin Kings must have annexed the districts of Gōdāvarī and Visākhapatna and driven the kings of Kaliṅga to the

[1] *J. B. R. A. S.* (1883—1885), Vol. XVI, p. 223 ff.

north. In fact, the capital of the kings of Kaliṅga which was Piṭhāpuram at the time of Mahēndra and Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman seems to have been transferred further north to Sārapalli and Siṁhapura after the Viṣṇukuṇḍins captured Piṣṭhapuram.[1] This event probably took place in the first quarter of the 6th century A. D.[2] There is no evidence to prove that the Māṭharas had fought against the Viṣṇukuṇḍins during the early parts of the 7th century A. D., as we know that the Eastern Gaṅgas could establish their sway in Kaliṅga in the same time when the Eastern Chālukyas had occupied the throne of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins at Vēṅgi. Mr. R. C. Panchamukhi remarks that the date of Polumbur grant of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin King as A. D. 594 is too early to be the 48th year of the king who was defeated in 631 by Pulakeśin (II) or his brother Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. As Pulakeśin's conquest of Kaliṅga, Kōśala, Piṭhāpuram Kuṇāla, and Kāñcipura, recorded in vv. 26 and 27 of the Aihole inscription,[3] was affected in one and the same expedition, and as Viṣṇuvardhana was the governor of Vēṅgi from 616 to 633 A. D.,[4] it seems very plausible that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were ousted by the Chālukyas in *C*. 615.

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[1] It is not out of place to point out that the Gōdāvari region was captured by the Vāśiṣṭhīputras or the Māṭharas before it was occupied by the Eastern Chālukyas. In Srungavarapukoṭā plates of the Māṭhara Anantavarman, it is stated that he ruled over Devarāṣṭra from the city of Piṣṭapura (Vide *E. I.* XXIII, p. 56 ff.). It proves that Devarāṣṭra and Piṣṭapura, which were two separate kingdoms in the time of Samudra Gupta, were amalgamated in the time of Anantavarman who belonged to the family known as Vāśiṣṭi (Māṭhara ?) and whose time may be assigned to the 5th century A. D., on palaeographical consideration.

[2] *The Ancient History of the Deccan*, page 91

[3] "Abhavan=nupajāta-bhītiliṅgā
Yad=anikēna sa Kō[sa]lā-Kaliṅgāḥ ।"
(*E. I.* VI, p. 6 ff.)

[4] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 442 ff.

The Chinese pilgrim (Yuan Chwang) visited Kaliṅga in or about A. D. 639. He remarks that it was previously destroyed and depopulated on account of some super-natural calamity. He attributes the cause of the devastation to the imprecation of a hermit. But, at the time of his visit, resurrection of Kaliṅga was in progress. This information as given by him in his account, which does not blame any political aggressor, seems to be a careful omission of a cruel deed of some royal dynasties, then in power. Be that as it may, we know that that was the period when the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Vēṅgi became extinct. As we have already said, the Gaṅgas started their rule in Kaliṅga in A. D. 626, about 13 years before Yuan Chwang visited this area. So, the story of downfall of Kaliṅga and her rulers (the Māṭhara family ?) was fresh in the memory of the people. It should be pointed out that the Chālukyas had established their rule over Vēṅgi some time before A. D. 633, most probably, in the same period when the Gaṅgas had captured Kaliṅga. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has published a list of inscriptions in *The Ancient India, No. IV*, and states that Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana came to the throne of Vēṅgi in A. D. 624. Accordingly, it may be presumed that the E. Chālukyas and the Gaṅgas could jointly uproot the Vāśiṣṭhīputras as well as the Viṣṇukuṇḍins from their respective seats.

The Ganjam plates of Mādhavavarman of Kōṅgada, which were incised in A. D. 620, mention the name of Śaśāṅka who happened to be a powerful monarch of the country, lying between the districts of Midnapore and Ganjam, comprising the tracts of Tōṣali, Kōṅgada and a portion of Kaliṅga. But, in A. D. 633, Yuan Chwang described Kōṅgada as a separate principality, ruled by a powerful monarch whose "*gallant army*

kept the neighbouring countries in awe".[1] Therefore, it is quite probable that the Śailōdbhavas snatched away that kingdom from the hands of the Vigrahas after the death of Śaśāṅka, and firmly established their sway at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit to this land (A. D. 638-639). But, owing to some internal difficulties or interference of Pulakeśin (II) in Kōṅgada, as we have stated before, Harṣa had to march across Kōṅgada some time between A. D. 642-643, when the pilgrim was residing at Nālandā.

The Godāvarī plates of *Rājā* Prithivīmūla[2] fully corroborates the inferences drawn above. They record that the grant was made in the "*Pravardhamāna-Vijaya-Rājya-Saṁvatsara-25*." by one, Indrādhirāja, who was a dear son of Mitavarman of the Dvijātyānvaya or Brāhmaṇa family, and who, having been mounted on an elephant named Supratika, *i.e.*, the *Diggaja* of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the south-west quarter, on which rode a king named Indrabhaṭṭāraka.[3] Dr. Fleet, while editing this charter, identified the former Indrādhirāja with the Eastern Gaṅga king of the same name who belonged to Kaliṅga and the latter king Indrabhaṭṭāraka as the king of Eastern Chālukya dynasty, who was the son of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. But, R. Subba Rao and some other scholars have identified him with the king of the same name, who belonged to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, which inference seems to be quite plausible in the face of the contemporary events that we have already mentioned. If the date as recorded in this inscription is taken to be the family *era* of the Gaṅgas, then, according to our calculation, it is equal to A. D. 651, when the Eastern

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[1] Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 196-197 ff.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* (Bombay branch), Vol. XVI, pp. 114 120 ff.

[3] A depiction of this battle is probably made on the front wall of a side temple in the premises of the main temple of Mukhalingam.

Chālukyas had firmly established their sway in Vēṅgi, wherefrom the said plates were discovered. It is, therefore, not safe on the part of a foreign writer, like Yuan Chwang, to cast any aspersion on any member of the ruling house, then in power. Since the Eastern Chālukyas were at the height of power in Vēṅgi at that time, we have to accept the opinion of R. Subba Rao, who identified Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the battle of Gōdāvarī with the king of the same name, who belonged to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family.[1]

The first ruling prince of Kaliṅga was presumably *Mahārājādhirāja* Indravarman who styled himself as the ruler of all the parts of Kaliṅga, acquired by his own valour and strength. He was a devout worshipper of the god Gōkarṇasvāmin, established on the top of the Mahēndra Hill, which afterwards became the family god of all the branches of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.

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[1] We will discuss this aspect in the beginning of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

(Epigraphical Records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara)

A LARGE number of copperplate inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga have been discovered, from which we learn that they were mainly divided into two groups. The first group of kings issued their grants from Dantipura, Vijayaśrīnivāsa and Kaliṅganagara, while the second group of kings granted charters from Svētaka, Kōlāulā or Kōlāhalapurapāṭaṇā. The total number of copperplate inscriptions of these kings, including their subordinate Kadamba Chieftains, is sixty-eight.[1] Before dealing with these inscriptions, we will refer to another copperplate charter, issued by one Pṛithivīmūla, which is discovered from the district of Gōdāvarī and edited by Dr. Fleet.[2] The learned editor writes—

'The grant is one by Rājā Pṛithivīmūla, the son of the *Mahārāja* Prabhākara, and is issued from (the city) Kandāli. And it records that, at the request of the Adhirāja Indra, he bestowed the village of Chūyipāka, as an *Agrahāra* Grant upon 43 Brāhmaṇa families who studied the *Atharvana Vēda*, descendants of *Upādhyāyas* and belonging to a variety of *gotras*. The object of the grant was evidently to establish a colony of *Atharvanikas*. The names, *gotras* & c., of the individual grantees, however, are not recorded. The village of Chūyipāka is specified as belonging to the Talupāka Viṣaya, and in the middle of the four villages of Vileṇḍi, Reṅguta, Kaṁpara and Tukura. But, I am not able to suggest at present any identification of these places, or of Kandāli whence the charter

[1] For their detailed description, with texts and historical notes, see my *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, published by the Government of Orissa in 1960.

[2] *J.R.A.S.* (Bom. Branch), Vol. XVI, pp. 114—120 ff.

was issued, or of the Manalkuḍi that is mentioned in line 14.'

"The grant is dated both in words and numerical symbols, in the 25th year of some reign, and apparently on the third day of the month of Vaiśākha. From the evidently subordinate rank of Pṛithivīmūla, denoted by the title of *Rājā* applied to himself and *Māhārāja* applied to his father, it is difficult to say whether the date is referred to the commencement of the power of the Pṛithivīmūla or to the commencement of the reign of the paramount sovereign to whom he was subordinate. Also, because that paramount sovereign is not mentioned in this inscription and because no reference is made to the Śaka or any other *era*, the exact date of the grant cannot be fixed at present. But, the period of it can be determined with sufficient certainty. The Adhirāja Indra, at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality from which the grant comes and its approximate period as indicated by the palaeographical standard of the characters and the use of the numerical symbols in the date, there can be no doubt that this Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Chālukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha (I) (ŚS. 549--579 or 582), and the father of Viṣṇuvardhana (II) (ŚS. 579—586 or ŚS. 582—59). All grants of that dynasty, published and unpublished, that have come to my notice, mention Indrabhaṭṭāraka as not having reigned. And, though a grant of Rājarāja, dated ŚS. 944,— and another of Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva, dated ŚS. 1056 and another of Vīrachoḍa or Viṣṇuvardhana, dated ŚS. 1222— state that he reigned for 76, the truth seems to be that he

did not actually succeed in ascending the throne at all, and the disclosure made by the present inscription explains the circumstances under which this was the case. He was prevented from doing so by the attack of a confederacy of the chiefs of whom the Adhirāja Indra, mentioned in this inscription, was one: and he was probably slain in one of the battles that ensued. And the figurative expression that the Adhirāja Indra mounted upon the elephant Supratika of the north-eastern quarter and overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the south-west or southern quarter, shows that this attack upon the Eastern Chālukyas was made from the north-east of their kingdom, Vēṅgi. It is possible that this Adhirāja Indra is identical with the *Gaṅga Mahārāja* Indravarman of Kaliṅganagara of whom I have two unpublished inscriptions of about the same period as the present grant who is described in his inscriptions as having acquired the supreme power over the whole of Kaliṅga by means of the quivering of his sword and whose territory, therefore, lay just to the north-east of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom."

After Dr. Fleet's commentary was published, the Gōdāvarī plates of Prithivīmūla which refer to a fight between Indrabhaṭṭāraka and Adhirāja Indra, have become a subject of controversy among several scholars, as we have already pointed out in the previous chapter.

(1) The Tirlingi copperplate grant of *Pravardhamāna-Rājya-Saṁvatsara-28*. It was discovered from a village named Tirlingi in Tekkali taluk of Śrikākulam district and edited by me in the *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 54—57 ff. The date is mentioned as '*Aṣṭāviṁśati*' which means twenty-eight; but Śrī Jogendra Chandra Ghosh suggests that it should be '*Aṣṭāśiti*' (88 *G. E.*). According to him, the donor of the grant must be

Indravarman.[1] R. Subba Rao and others have accepted my reading as twenty-eight *G.E.*, and this inscription happened to be the first document of the Gaṅgas available in Kaliṅga. The size of the plate is abnormally smaller (4½″×2″) than the other Gaṅga plates. As the first two plates of this set are missing, the name of the donor and the donee, and the village granted therein are also missing, Fortunately, the name of the engraver is mentioned as Bhānucandra, son of Vinayacandra. The *śloka* runs thus :—

"*Idaṃ Vinayacandraeṇa Bhānucandrasya sūnunā* ....". This *śloka* is also repeated in the subsequent charters of the Gaṅgas as late as the *G. E.* 80. It proves that Bhānucandra's son, Vinayacandra, was living in the court of the Gaṅgas atleast for more than 50 years.

(2) The Jirjiṅgi copperplate inscription of Indravarman-*Trikaliṅgādhipati*, dated *G. E.* 39. It was edited by R. Subba Rao in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 49—53, and the same was re-edited by R. K. Ghosal in *E. I.* XXV, pp. 281—288.

This grant was issued from Dantapura by *Mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati*-Indravarman. The village named JIJJIKĀ, in the district of Bōṅkhāra Bhōga, was granted to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudrasvāmin, son of Agnisvāmin and grandson of Rudrasvāmin, who belonged to Viṣṇuvṛddhasa *gotra*, *Taittiriya Caraṇa* and who was a *Brahmacārin*. The grant was issued in the *G.E.* 39 Vaiśākha, 10th day, at the instructions of *Sandhi-Vigrahin* (Minister of War and Peace) Devasiṁha. The eulogy, which has been introduced in the grant, is a clear indication of that the *Mahārāja* Indravarman was the winner of several battles, fought against his enemies. Probably, he was the first ruler of Kaliṅga among

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XX, p 44

the Eastern Gaṅgas. His title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Mahārājadhirāja* is particularly significant among the documents, subsequently issued by the Gaṅga rulers of Kaliṅga.

(3) The Śrīkākulam copperplate inscription of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman of *G. E.* 51, when there was a Solar eclipse. It was edited by Dr. Fleet in *I. A.*, Vol. X, pp. 343-344 and Vol. XIII, pp, 273—276 ff. The charter was issued from Kaliṅga-nagara and the abstract of the grant is given below:—

"The record in this inscription is issued, like the previous grants of Indravarman, from his victorious camp or residence, situated at the city of Kaliṅganagara, by the glorious Dēvēndravarman, who has had the stains of the Kali Age removed by performing obeisance to the god Śiva under the name of Gōkarṇasvāmin, established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahēndra, who is a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara and who is the son of *Mahārāja* Anantavarmadeva, the glory of the family of the Gaṅgas. It is addressed to the *Kuṭumbins*, residing at the village of Tāmarachēru in the "Varāha Varttanī Viṣaya", (evidently the same village, Tāmarachēruvu, which was the subject of the grant of Indravarman of the year 128). It records that, on the occasion of an eclipse of the Sun and after performing libation of water before Gōkarṇa Bhaṭṭāraka on the summit of the mountain of Mahēndra, the said village of Tāmarachēru was given by Dēvēndravarman to 300 brāhmaṇas of the Vājasanēya *Charaṇa*. The boundaries of the village are defined in lines 15 to 19. But, this passage contains nothing of importance. Lines 19—22 contain two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. In lines 22 and 23, there is given in words the date of the 51st year of the increasingly victorious-reign of

the donor of Gaṅga lineage. Lines 23 and 24 record that the inscription was written or composed by *Sāmanta* Nāgarāja and was engraved by the *Akṣyaśālin*, Sarvadeva". [1]

Fleet opines with regard to the date of this grant: "These grants of Dēvēndravarman and Satyavarman are shown, by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later dates than the three grants of Indravarman. Consequently, the 51st year, which is quoted in one of the grants of Dēvēndravarman and the grant of his son Satyavarman, cannot be referred to the same epoch with the dates of 91, 128 and 146 of Indravarman. And, partly because of this, and partly because in each instance the year is mentioned without any specification of the month and the lunar date, I am inclined to look upon it as some conventional expression which cannot just now explain, and to consider that only the year 254, in connection with which we have the specification of both the month and the lunar date, as a correct date for Dēvēndravarman, and it may be referred to be the same year with the date of Indravarman whatever that *era* may be".

Burnell has mentioned some inscriptions [2] of the 10th century found at Jaypore in the Ganjam District (?), [3] belonging to a dynasty which seems to have been established by fugitives of the Vēṅgi family in the 7th century A. D., and to have risen to power again for a time with Kaliṅganagara as the capital during the anarchy that existed from A. D. 977—1004 in Vēṅgi.

[1] *See* for Sarvadeva, the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, (*I. A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273—276 ff.); Chicacole plates of Satyavarman of *G. E.* 351 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10—12 ff.); Chipurupalli plates of Vajrahasta Anantavarman of *G. E.* 383 (*J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 1—33 ff.), Chidivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 397. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 146—148).

[2] *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 53

[3] Jaypore is now in the Koraput District (Orissa)

From these inscriptions he picks out three names, Jayavarman, his son Anantavarman in A. D. 985 and his son Rajēndravarman. [1]

Regarding this view, Dr. Fleet remarks, "If Dr. Burnell's date of A. D. 985 for Anantavarman is correct (which, however, I have no means of testing, I do not now think that this can be done) for the date of Dēvēndravarman would thus be A. D. 1010, and then, referring the recorded date of the year 254 for Dēvēndravarman to the same year with the dates of 91,128,146 for Indravarman to a later period than is indicated by the palaeographical standard of them. I have already suggested that, on historical as well as palaeographical grounds, Indravarman may be referred to about Śaka 579 (A. D. 657 to 660-661). Taking 136 as the mean between the two certain dates of Indravarman, and taking this as equivalent to Śaka 580, this would bring Dēvēndravarman to about 696 (A. D. 774-775). And this is about the latest period to which, on palaeographical grounds, this grant of the year 254 can be referred."

As the date of the above charter of Dēvēndravarman (of *G. E.* 51) is wrongly incised as 51 by the engraver, instead of 351 on palaeographical and historical grounds, it ought to have been corrected as 351 *G. E.* and I shall discuss this point later on. The grant of *Mahārāja* Satyavarman of *G. E.* 51 should also be treated likewise.

(4) Ponnuṭuru plates of Sāmantavarman of *G. E.* 64, *Puṣya Di.* 28, are edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of Guntur in *E. I.* XXVII, pp. 216—220 ff. This set of plates was discovered some time in 1941 by a peasant

[1] It is not known where these epigraphical records are preserved. They have not been edited till now. How the date of Dēvēndravarman is fixed at A. D. 985 is also not known.

from a field named Liṅgāla Merakā, belonging to the village of Ponnuṭuru on the northern bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā, about a mile from Somarājapuram in the Ex-estate of Parlakhemundi, or the modern Pāthapatnam taluk of the Śrīkākulam District. The farmer gave the set to his land-lord, Śrī Vanama Raghava Das Naidu-garu, six months after its discovery. Subsequently, one Bhairi Appalaswami Naidu-garu took these plates on loan for a short period from Raghava Das Naidu-garu and sent them to the learned editor.

While editing the plates, Mr. M. S. Sarma remarks as follows :--

"After the Jirjiṅgi plates of Indravarman,[1] the present is the earliest of the Eastern Gaṅga-grants that I have so far given to light. Like the other grants, it also begins with the '*Praśasti*' or the eulogy of the early Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga. However, it differs from that in the Jirjiṅgi plates of Indravarman and in the grants of Hastivarman. This preamble attained a sort of standardization only from the time of Hastivarman. His successors took the eulogy, given in his grants, as model in drafting their records. Another fact worth mentioning in this word is the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. It is significant that with the exception of Indravarman of Jirjiṅgi plates and the Sāmantavarman of the present record no other early Gaṅga King had that title. The years mentioned in this grant and the Jirjiṅgi plates refer, in all probability, to the *G. E.* 39. If this conjecture is correct, then considering the nearness of time, it may be supposed that Indravarman and Sāmantavarman stand as father and son or as brothers, in relation to each other."

"This grant makes one point clear and that is about the system of reckoning of lunar months, then

[1] *E. I.* XXV, p. 281 ff.

in vogue in Kaliṅga. The 13th day of the bright half of 'Puṣya' in the given year was equal to the 28th day of Puṣya. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the *Pūrṇimānta* system [1] of reckoning was in vogue in Kaliṅga during the rule of early Gaṅgas. This is confirmed by some other early grants also. Urlam plates of Hastivarman record a grant made on the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of 'Kārtika' which equated to the 8th day of 'Kārtika' (vide No. 6). The Tekkali (Tirliṅgi) plates of Dēvēndravarman (vide No. 18) record a grant at the time of a lunar eclipse: but, the month in which the eclipse occurred is stated only at the end where it is given as 'the 30th day of the month of Māgha'. This day, according to the '*Pūrṇimānta* system', happens to be the *Paurṇami* or the 15th day of the bright fortnight."

"The places mentioned in the grant are Saumyavana, Pratiṣṭāpura and Dāgha Pañcāli. It is of interest to note that this grant was issued from a forest settlement, [2] similar to Madhuvana, Tuṁbavana, Puṣakavana (Puṣpakavana), the dwelling places of some Buddhist monks and house-holders, which are referred to in certain Brāhmi inscriptions from Bhilsa and Amarāvati."

"Saumya is the name of one of the forests wherein the Pāṇḍavas resided for some time during the period of '*Vanavāsa*'. It appears that this Saumyavana was either in Kaliṅga or on the borders thereof,

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[1] In the Appendix I, we have dealt with this question of the Pūrṇimānta system while discussing the date of the beginning of the *G. E.* We agree with the view of Mr. Sarma which is quite correct as judged from documentary evidence. Therefore, Mirashi's view about *G. E.* may be rejected in support of the date of the Ponnuṭuru grant of Sāmantavarman. *See* the notes of Mirashi in *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 171--174.

[2] *E. I.* XXVII, pp. 216—220 ff.; *Ins. Or.*, Vol II, p. 9 f.

yet it cannot be located with certainty. In this connection it may be interesting to note that there was a town called Saumyapura [1] from which the Koṇḍḍēdda plates of Dharmarāja of Śailōdbhava family was issued. This town has not been identified either. If it were the chief town of the forest colony of Saumyavana and named after it, then it may be concluded that this forest was in the direction of the ancient territory of the Śailōdbhava kings."

It may not be out of place here to point out that 'Raṇabhītā', the title assumed by Hastivarman, the successor of Sāmantavarman of the present grant, was actually the name of the earliest Śailōdbhava king, referred to both in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman [2] and the Koṇḍḍēdda plates of Dharmarājadeva and that Hastivarman made a grant of some lands to god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), known also as *Raṇabhītōdaya* [3] who was probably consecrated by the king himself after his own name.

Pratiṣṭāpura, the village granted, is not identified. This village is said to have been situated in Dāgha Pañcāli. This territorial division is not mentioned in any of the Kaliṅgan grants, so far discovered, though the names of some 'Viṣayas' or districts, ending with Pañcāli, occur in some of them. For example, Kōrāṣoṭaka Pañcāli, [4] Devanna Pañcāli.[5] Chikhali Pañcāli,[6] and Puṣyagiri Pañcāli.[7] To this may now be added Dāgha Pañcāli. Any consideration of its exact location is not possible at present. The

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[1] *E. I.* XIX, p. 269, *Ins. Or.*, Vol I, pt. ii, p. 237 f.
[2] *E. I.* XXI, p. 24 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 66 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 24 ff.
[5] *I. A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134 ff.
[6] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 165 ff.
[7] *E. I.* XXVI, p. 63 ff.

Ponnuṭuru grant was made by *Kaliṅgādhipati Mahārāja* Sāmantavarman in favour of the brāhmaṇas named Yajña Śarman, Gaurī Śarman, Agni Śarman, and Umā Śarman, who belonged to Vatsa *gotra* and Vājasanēya *caraṇa*, on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa (Saṅkrānti). The grant was written by one Ādityavarman at the instance of the ruler, and engraved by Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra.

(5) Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman *alias* Raṇabhīta of *G. E.* 79. The plates were discovered in a field in the village of Narasingapalli, in Śrīkākulam district, by one Suran Naidu while digging the earth. Mr. M. S. Sarma sold the plates to the Madras Museum and it was published in the Telugu Journal '*Bhārati*', Vol. XI, 1934, p. 464 ff. The grant was edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 62—67 ff. The editor gives the following note for this grant discussing about the donor and the topographical aspects of it:—

"No new information of Hastivarman's reign is furnished by this record. As in the Urlam plates, two of his '*virudas*' or epithets, ***viz.***, Rājasiṁha and Raṇabhīta, are mentioned in the present grant. As regards the last, Dr. Hultzsch has already drawn attention to its peculiar character and the fact that it occurs as the name of a member of the Śailōdbhava family,[1] I may add that several other members of the same family bear similar names, namely, Ayaśōbhīta, Sainyabhīta, etc."

Dr. Sten Konow suggests that Varāhavarttanī was probably near Śrīkākulam.[2] Regarding the village Roṇānki, mentioned in this grant, the editor suggests that "it may be identified with modern Roṇānki (Roṇunky

[1] *E. I.* XVIII, p. 331 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 95 ff.

of the *Indian Atlas*, 84°×18°-20′). He further says that Varāhavarttanī was wrongly taken as corresponding to the coastal region between Śrīkākulam and Tekkali. It was presumably bounded on the west by Kuraka-Rāṣṭra, corresponding to modern Pālakoṇḍā taluk.[1] According to G. Rama Das, the village Selladā in the Rūpāvarttani Viṣaya[2] belongs to Tekkali taluk. If this identification be accepted, then Rūpāvarttani will be located to the north of Varāhavarttanī. As suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, it is the same as 'Rūpyavati Viṣaya', mentioned in Tekkali plates of Indravarman."[3]

The Editor of this grant translates the text as follows :—

"Oṁ, Hail; from the victorious (city of) Kaliṅga-nagara which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious *Mahārāja* Hastivarman............commands (as follows) all the rights assumable at Rōhaṇakī, in the district of Varāhavarttanī, and be it known to you, that having constituted six '*HALAS*' of land, with 4 villages in this village as (a separate) section, and making it an *agrahāra* for god which is to last as long as the Moon and the Sun, and having exempted from all taxation, we have, at the request of (*lit.* being informed by) Buddha Māñchi, the Bhōjika, and for increasing the religious merit of (our) parents and ourselves, granted it to god Nārāyaṇa who lies on the Seven Seas, who is sung in Seven Hymns, who is the sole lord of Seven Worlds,[4] and who has the designation Raṇabhīta, for the sake of performing (oblation known as) *Bali*, *Caru* and *Satra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (of the temple).

[1] *E. I.* XIV, p. 361

[2] *Journal of Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 271

[3] *E. I.* XVIII, p. 307 ff.

[4] All the three epithets of Nārāyaṇa occur in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto X, *Śloka* 21.

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance. The boundary marks are as follows:—

On the east, the trenches of the village; on the south, the mound of earth; on the west the trenches of the district with the *Kuravaka* thicket; on the north along with the palm grove.

The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses composed by Vyāsa are quoted.

In the year 79 of the prosperous and victorious reign, on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭa at the order of his (the King's) own mouth, the charter of Rājasiṁha has been written by Vinayacandra, the son of Bhānucandra.

This charter of the glorious Raṇabhīta, whose commands are irresistible and who has totally crushed the hostile confederacy by the stroke of (his) scimetar.

The editor of this grant has not discussed about the script, adopted by the donor who was living in the first century *G. E.* The script is popularly known as the "box-head-character" which was in vogue in Kaliṅga and Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or the tracts ruled by the Gaṅgas, the Nalas, the Vākāṭakas, the Śarabhapuriyans and the Pāṇduvaṁśis. A strip of land from the Vindhya Mountain, covering Southern Kōśala as far as the East-coast, touching the borders of Madhya Kaliṅga, was the only place where the said "box-head-type" was used within the limits of a particular period, namely, from the 6th to 8th centuries A. D. For this reason, we are inclined to place *Mahārāja* Hastivarman and his predecessor, *Mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati* Indravarman, between the last part of the 7th century and the first part of the 8th century A. D. After a short period, a different type of script was introduced in the place of the 'box-head-type.' So, it is

quite convenient for us to ascertain the influence which acted upon the engraver of the above-mentioned inscriptions continued upto the end of Hastivarman's reign.

(6) The Urlam plates of Hastivarman of 80 *G. E.*

A set, containing three copperplates, hinged on a copperring, was kept with the Ex-Rājā of Urlam in Śrīkākulam district of Āndhra Pradesh. The Rājā gave the plates to K. Nageswar Rao, editor of *The Āndhra Patrikā* of Madras. In 1919, T. Rajagopal Rao published the text of the inscription in his journal, *South Indian Research*. Then, it was duly edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *E. I.* XVII, pp. 330—334 ff. The plates are three in number and they are attached to a copperring, bearing the usual Gaṅga-seal, *i. e.*, the symbol of a lying bull. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

Dr. Hultzsch translates the text as quoted below:—

(L. 1) Oṁ Hail ! From Kaliṅganagar, (the city) of victory which is pleasant (on account of the simultaneous presence) of the comforts of all seasons, the glorious *Mahārāja* Hastivarman, a fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father,.........commands (as follows) the ryots, accompanied by all (others), at village of Hoṇḍovaka in (the district of) Krōṣṭuka Varttanī.

(L. 9) 'Be it known to you that we have purchased two and a half ploughs of land in this village from the *Agrahārikas*, have constituted this land a separate section, have made (it) an *agrahāra* which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, have exempted (it) from all taxes, and that, for the sake of the increase of the religious merit of (our) mother and father and of ourselves, on the eighth (*tithi*) of the dark (fortnight) of Kārtika, with libations of water. We have given it to Jayaśarman, who resides at Uramalla, belongs to a

Vatsa *gotra*, and studies the Vājasanēya (*Śākhā*). Knowing this, nobody should cause obstruction to (the new owners) while they are preserving their own land.'

(L. 14) And the marks of the boundaries of this (land are)—In the east, an ant-hill; then the bank (Pāli) of a field; then the western bank of the Ghōṣaṇa tank and then again the bank of a field. In the south, only the boundary of Hattaravana. In the west, the bank of a field; then an ant-hill; then an artificial row of stones. And in the north bank of a field: then (the boundary) reaches the ant-hill in the east.

(L. 18) And future kings should preserve this meritorious gift. There are also the following (verses) sang by Vyāsa:—

(Lines 19—22 contain three of the customary *ślokas*.)

(L. 22) Eighty (in figures) 80 years of the reign of increasing victory, the 8th day of Kārtika.

(V. 4) At the command of his (the king's) own mouth, this edict of Rājasiṁha has been written by Vinayacandra, the son of Bhānucandra.

(V. 5) (This is) an edict of the glorious Raṇabhīta whose orders are irresistible, (and) who has crushed the combination of (his) enemies by the strokes of the point of (his) scimetar.

(7) The Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman of 87 *G. E.*

This set of copperplates was secured by one Mallapragaḍā Suryaprakāsa Rao of the village Achyutapuram near Mukhaliṅgam in Śrikākulam district. G. V. Ramamurti of Parlakhemundi got the plates from the owner and sent them to Dr. Hultzsch who edited the charter in *E. I.* III, pp. 127—130 ff.

The set contains three copperplates each measuring 3 7/8″×2″. They are attached to a copperring having the usual Gaṅga-seal, *i. e.*, a lying bull,

Dr. Hultzsch translates the text as quoted below:—

(L. 1) Oṁ Hail ! From the victorious (city of) Kaliṅganagara, which is pleasant in all seasons, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the glorious *Mahārāja* Indravarman,—who adores the feet of (his) mother and father; whose feet are reddened by the dense clusters of the light of the jewels on the crests of all vassals, prostrated by (his) excessive valour; who has (effected) the establishment of the spotless race of the Gaṅgas; who has caused the cry of "victory" to resound in the turmoil of many battles; whose spotless fame is spread over the surface of the earth which is girt by the waves of the four oceans; who has acquired the sovereignty over the whole (country) of Kaliṅga by the quivering of the edge of his own sword; who is a receptacle of modesty, wisdom and wealth; (and) who is freed from the stains of the Kali (age) by (his) prostrations at the pair of lotus-feet of the god Gōkarṇasvāmin, the sole architect for the construction of the whole world,—addresses (the following) order to the ryots and all (other inhabitants) of the village of Siddhārthaka in the (district of) Varāhavarttanī :—

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that, at the consecration of a tank (in honour) of the feet of the lady (our) mother, during (the sun's) progress to the north (*uttarāyaṇa*), we have given, with libations of water, (one) plough of land in a field (near) the *Rājataṭāka* in this village,—having portioned (it) off, with immunity from all taxes, having made (the grant) to last as long as the moon and the sun, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) mother and father and of ourselves, — to Durgaśarman, a member of the Gautam *gotra* (and) a student of the Chhandōga

(*Śākhā*). Knowing this, nobody shall cause hindrance to (the donee and his descendants) while they preserve (*i. e.*, cultivate and enjoy ?) their own land."

(L. 14) The marks of the boundaries (are the following):—

In the east, the bank (Pāli) of *Rājataṭāka;* in the south, the same; in the west, three ant-hills in succession; on the northern side, a boulder on the top of a gate, then another boulder (covered) with bricks, then a couple of *dhimāra* (or *adhimāra* ?)* trees, and then a *Kāraka* tree. Nobody shall cause hindrance (to the donee) if (he) opens the sluice of the tank.

(L. 18) "And future kings should preserve this meritorious gift; for there are (the following) verses composed by Vyāsa:—"

(Three of the customary verses)

(L. 22) (In) the year eighty-seven,—(in figures), 80 (and) 7,—of the prosperous and victorious reign, on the New-moon of Caitra.

(L. 23) This edict (*Śāsana*) of Rājasiṁha was written at the command of his (the king's) own mouth by Vinayacandra, the son of Bhānucandra.

(8) The Santabommali copperplate grant of Indravarman of *G. E.* 87, 10th day of Jyēṣṭa, has been edited by Mr. R. K. Ghosal of Calcutta in *E. I.* XXV, pp. 194—198 ff. Formerly, it was edited in the *Utkala Sāhitya* (Oriya Journal of Cuttack), Vol. 31, by the Rājābāhādur of Tekkali, and also noticed in the

* In Oriya, it is called *ḍhimiri* (author).

86 *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the years 1925-26, page 10 (Appendix "A" No. 2). The Rājābāhādur of Tekkali has wrongly deciphered and edited the grant in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV of parts 1 and 2, pp. 21—24 ff. Mr. Ghosal's reading seems to be almost correct; but, the reading of the date of the inscription by Rājābāhādur of Tekkali's seems accurate. The original plates have been carefully examined by me. After the usual '*Praśasti*', Mr. Ghosal translates the text as follows:—

"Be it known to you that, we have granted, after portioning it off, and on being informed by Talavaradēva, the *Bhōgika*, and for increasing the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourselves, two *Halas* of land in this village for the sake of performing (rites known as) *Bali*, *Caru*, and *sattra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (of the temple) of god Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, (situated) in (the village) Dantayavāgu; and (in addition to that) another *Hala* of land in (the same) Dantayavāgu, having constituted it as an *agrahāra* for god (Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka) which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all impositions. Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance." The boundary marks of the land granted are as follows:—

North—Storm water channel of the tank, *Kṣatriya-taṭāka;*

East—*Arjuna* tree; after that, a row of ant-hills, then up to the artificial line of heaped up stones, then a *Nimba* tree;

South—The same channel of *Kṣatriya-taṭāka ;*

West—A well, then *Āmalaka* and *Arjuna* trees, then the Royal Road.

The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses from the *Vyāsa-Gītā* are quoted. (Here come three of customary verses). The year 87 of the prosperous (and) victorious reign, (the month of Jyēṣṭa, the day 30.[1]

This edict of Rājasiṁha has been written at the command of his (*the king's*) own mouth by Vinaya-candra, the son of Bhānucandra.

Mr. Ghosal quotes the following *śloka* from Manu VII, 119; Kulluka observes thus in defining the technical word, *kula* :—

"Ṣaḍ-gavaṃ madhyamaṃ halam-iti । Tathā-vidha hala-dvayēna yāvatī=bhūmir-vāhyatē tat kulam=iti vadati ।"

Mr. Ghosal suggests that *Hala* appears to be a recognised unit of land measure.

According to the local practice one *Hala* is equal to about 7 to 8 acres of land.

(9) The Parlakhemundi plates of Indravarman of *G. E* 91, Māgha, Dina 30, have been edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet in *I. A.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131—134 ff., and in *ibid*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119—122. It was also published in *S. Indian Inscriptions*, No. 80.

This charter was found at Parlakhemundi (*Indian Atlas*) sheet No. 180, Lat. 18°-46′; Long. 84°-8′...... in Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*, the second component of the name is written both "Kimedi". It has also

[1] This should be read as 10 (author).

been certified to me (Khimidi); but the aspirate in the first symbol is hardly likely to be correct in the case of a Dravidian name.[1] These plates were presented to the Government Central Museum at Madras by Mr. W. Taylor.[2] Dr. Fleet elaborately dealt with the astronomical aspect of the date of this grant from A. D. 624—737 by referring to Cunningham's "*Indian Eras*", p. 210 f.

This record mentions, after the usual *Praśasti*, the grant of a village named Kēttaṭa in the district of Dēvanna-Pañcāli. to a brāhmaṇa named Dhruva-śarman, who belonged to Gārgēya *gotra* and Chandōgya *Śākhā*, and a resident of Kaliṅganagara. This grant was also engraved by Vinayacandra, the son of Bhānucandra.

(10) This grant is shown in No. 30 below.

(11) The Āndhavaram plates of Indravarman of 133 *G. E.* (?)

This set of copperplate inscription was discovered along with three other sets of copperplate inscriptions near the village of Āndhavaram in Narasannapeta taluk in Śrīkākulam district of Āndhra Pradesh. This village is situated on the left bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā. It is stated that some cowherd boys unearthed an urn, containing four sets of copperplate inscriptions, at the foot of a banyan tree near the above village. In 1951, Sri R. Subrahmanyam, who edited this grant in *E. I.* XXX, pp. 37 ff., secured the plates and described that "there are two mounds in the south-east part of

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[1] Fleet's foot-note. We now adopt the up to date spelled as 'Pārlākhemuṇḍi'. (author)

[2] Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Madras, Vol. II, p. 262 f. and note.

the village, on one of which there is a big banyan tree." The urn containing the plates was discovered just at the foot of that tree.

This set consists of three copperplates, hinged on a copperring bearing the usual Gaṅga-seal, *viz.*, a lying bull. Each plate measures 7·3″×2·5″.

It is a grant made by the *Mahārāja* Indravarman on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse that occurred on the day of *amāvāsyā* in the month of Āṣāḍha. A village named Toṭavāṭaka, in the district of Kōṣṭruka Varttanī, is granted to several brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* who followed the *Vahṛca Caraṇa* and belonged to the village of Andōraka. The date given in this record is *Śri Pravarddhamāna-Tuṁburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsarāṇ (ṇāṃ) Śatē triṁśtyadhikē saṁvatsarāḥ 100. 30. 3 Śrāvana-māsa-amāvāsyā-dināni...*"[1] (The day of new moon in the month of Śrāvaṇa when the 133rd year of the *Tuṁburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsara* was current). It is not known why the writer of this grant has recorded an unknown *Tuṁburuvaṁśa era* instead of the *Gaṅga era* which is commonly used in all the dated inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. While re-producing this inscription in *I. O.*, Vol. II, pp. 41-42 ff., I discussed this question as given below:—

It is interesting to note here that this is the only record where in line 19 "*Tuṁburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsara*" is mentioned instead of "*Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*", which was used by the Gaṅgas up to the end of the 3rd century of their *era*. For the first time in No. 22, which was issued by Anantavarman in the year 304, the above name of the *Saṁvat* was changed as "*Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvat-sara*". Now, the question is whether the "*Tuṁburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsara*" is the same as "*Pravarddha-*

[1] Vide *ll.* 19—21, *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, p. 40

māna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara" or is it a different *Saṁvat* ? In this connection we like to discuss the question with the help of phraseological order of the *Gaṅga Praśasti* which, up to *G. E.* 91, maintained its uniformity and after 128 *G. E.* some changes occurred in its order which we have shown in Appendix II. The royal *Praśasti*, used in the present grant, belongs to the first category. Therefore, it should be fixed in between 91 and 128 Gaṅga *era*, which, according to my calculation, correspond to 717 A. D. and 754 A. D. respectively. Now, the grant was made on the auspicious day of a solar eclipse which fell on the Śrāvaṇa amāvāsyā. When we consult the *Indian Ephemeris* of Swami Kannu Pillai, we find that there were three years, namely, A. D. 725, 726 and 735 when there occurred solar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa. Therefore, the "*Tuṁburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsara*" cannot be taken as the family *era* of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.

For elucidation of this problem, we have to wait for future discoveries. According to Hemacandra, Tuṁburu is the name of a disciple or *Arhata*. According to the Monier William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, he is the disciple of the 5th Jaina-guru. A Gandharva called Tuṁburu was an excellent celestial musician, described in the *Purāṇas*. A tribe called Tuṁburas is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[1] and also in the *Matsya*.[2]

(12) Chicacole plates of Indravarman, the son of Dānārṇava of *G. E.* 128, Mārgaśira Paurṇamī, edited by Dr. Fleet in *I. A.*, Vol. XIII (1884), pp. 120—122 ff.

The plates were found, together with the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (of the Māṭhara dynasty of Siṁhapura), at Śrīkākulam. They were received

[1] *The Vāyu Purāṇa*, XLV, 132-133

[2] *The Matsya Purāṇa*, 113,52-53

by Dr. Fleet from Mr. R. Sewell. The grant was also noticed in *I. A.*, Vol. X, pp. 243-244 ff. and in the *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV, pp. 161—164 ff. According to the translation of the learned editor, Dr. Fleet, the second portion of the text runs thus:—

"Having exempted the village together with its hamlets with exemption from all taxes (and) having made an *agrahāra* established to continue as long as the Moon and the Sun last, and having, for the increase of the religious merit of his parents and of himself, accompanied (this act) with libations of water at the time of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Mārgaśira, (issues his commands to all the assembled cultivators),—

Be it known to you that this village has been given by me to brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* and *caraṇas*, *viz.*, to Narasiṁhaśarmā, Bēnhuśarmā, Śivaśarmā, Mātṛuśarmā, Kumāraśarmā, Mātṛuśarmā, Dēvaśarmā and Raviśarmā, headed by Kumāraśarmā and Dēvaśarmā of the Vājasanēya *Śākhā*. Having known this, dwell ye in happiness tended the proper share of enjoyment. (After the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses), command is by himself. The year of the augmenting victorious reign 100 and 20 and 8, the month Caitra, the day 10 and 5. This *Praśasti* has been composed by *Rāhasika*[1] Śaṅkaradēva, the son of the *Amātya* Dēvacandra, and it has been engraved by the Mañcu Āditya, the son of Vinayacandra."[2]

(13) Chicacole plates of Indravarman of *G. E.*146 (?), Māgha, the 13th (*tithi*).

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[1] *Rāhasika* is the designation of officer who functions as Private Secretary to the king.

[2] The editor, by mistake, reads Vijayacandra in place of Vinayacandra which is clear in the litho-print given by him.

92 This inscription is edited by Dr. Fleet in *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122—124 ff.[1] The plates were discovered from the same spot where the previous grant (No. 12) was found. The learned editor translates the text as follows:—

"Hail. From the victorious city of Kaliṅganagara which is the ornament of all the land of Kaliṅga that is embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean, the *Mahārāja* Śrī Indravarmā, who has had the stains of the Kali Age removed by unceasing obeisance to Gōkarṇasvāmī, the sole architect for the formation of the universe, who has the full-moon for (*his*) crest-jewel, (*and*) who is clothed with the coils of great serpants, (*and*) who dwells on the summit of the mountain Mahēndra;— who, by his innate propriety of conduct, has prevented the development of the six enemies; the water-lilies of whose feet are covered with young buds which are the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the chieftains, who have been bowed down by the excess of (*his*) three constituents of power; who has attained the proficiency of a holy teacher by the purity of all the numerous sciences and accomplishments that have been well mastered (*by him*); who is the full autumn-moon of the sky which is the famous and great and spotless lineage of the Gaṅgas; who meditates on the feet of his parents; (*and*) who is a most devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahēśvara,— issues his commands to all the assembled cultivators in the village of Tālamūla in the Kōroṣōṭaka *Pañcāli*:—

Be it understood by you that, for the increase of the religious merit of (*our*) parents and of ourselves, this village, having been exempted from the burden of all taxes, and having been made an *agrahāra*, established

[1] It is also published in the *Arch. Sur. of Southern India*, Vol. IV, pp. 164-165 ff.

to continue as long as the Moon and the Sun may last, has been given by us, on the seventh day of (*the month*) Māgha, with libations of water, to Skandaśarmā and Lalitaśarmā, inhabitants of the two places of Avaraṅga and Kaliṅganagara, members of the Kautsika *gotra* (and) religious students of the Chandōga (*Śākhā*). Having known this, dwell ye in happiness, the tendering enjoyment of shares in accordance with what is proper."

After the usual quotations of verses from the *Dharmaśāstras* this inscription records the date of the victorious Gaṅga *era* as 100 and 40 and 6; the month Māgha; the 10th day. The command is by the *Mahāmahattara* Gauriśarmā. This charter is written by Bhavadatta, the son of the *Amātya* Kīkaṭa [1] and engraved by the *Bhōgika* who is the *Akṣaśālin.*

The scripts adopted in this grant and in the previous one, have undergone a slight change from those of the time of Indravarman (I) and Hastivarman of the 1st century *G. E.*

So far as the date of the above charter is concerned, Dr. Fleet deciphers the symbols as 146; but his view has been rightly rejected by Dr. Hultzsch who reads it as *G. E.* 138, Māgha di. 7 [2] '*Māgha Saptamī*' is called '*Ratha Saptami*' which is an auspicious day for offering '*Dānaṃ*'.

(14) The Purle plates of Indravarman of *G. E.* 149, Puṣya, di. 30.

This inscription was edited by Mr. G. Ramadas in *E. I.* XIV, pp. 360—363 ff. The plates were found from a cultivator in Purle, a village near Pālakoṇḍā. It is stated that they were discovered in a pot exposed

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[1] The editor, Mr. Fleet, erred by reading it as '*Alikakade*', although the script is clear in the litho-print, which we read as 'Kikaṭa' (Author).

[2] *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 309-310 f.

to view due to the crumbling of a wall on the bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā, opposite to which Purle lies. The learned editor translates the second half of the document thus:—

"Know ye! This land, having been exempted from all taxes (and) having been established (*as a village*) to continue as long as the moon and the sun may last, has been given, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourselves, with an accompaniment of libations of water, on the full-moon day in the month of Kārtika, to Bhavadattaśarman, of the Kauśika *gotra*, a student of the *Ṛigvēda*, a resident of Tiriliṅga, and well-versed in the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*. Having known this, dwell ye in happiness, tendering (*to him*) the proper share of the profit therefrom. The marks of the boundaries in the 'Pradakṣiṇa' (*right to left*) order may here be noted thus:—

On the east, beginning with an ant-hill, (there are) at a distance, which is equal to the shadow of a man,[1] an *Arjuna* tree, then an ant-hill, then a *Karañja* tree together with an ant-hill. On the south, from the *Karañja* tree, at a distance which is equal to the shadow of a man, three boulders. On the west, beginning with the boulder, at a distance which is equal to the shadow of a man (there is) a boulder only, then an *Arjuna* tree, then a boulder. On the north, beginning with the boulder, at a distance equal to the shadow of a man (there is) a *Timira* tree[2]; then a boulder, then in the form of a door-joining (there is) a boulder, and then a single boulder (and) then an ant-hill."

After the usual *Vyāsa-Gītā-Ślokas*, it is recorded that by the order of the *Mahāmahattara* Śivaśarmaṇ, this edict was written by Śāmbapura-*Upādhyāya*, the son of

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[1] *Puruṣachhāyā*. For details please *see* *E. I.* III, p. 134 ff.

[2] In Oriya it is called *ḍhimiri*.

Hasti-adhyakṣa (the chief of elephants), the *Sarvādhikṛita* Dharmacandra, on the 20th day in the month of Puṣya of the year 100. 40. 9 of the augmenting victorious reign; and was engraved by Khaṇḍicandra, the son of Ādityabhōgika.

So far as the date of this grant is concerned, Dr. Hultzsch suggests that this date should be 137, instead of 149, deciphered by Mr. Ramadas.[1] But, Dr. Kielhorn says—

The numerical symbol, employed in the original seems to be a symbol for '8' rather than that for '6'. The following "10ḥ" may really be "10-2".

Mr. Ramadas discussed the topographical aspects of the grant as follows:—

"The royal residence from which the grant was issued was evidently in the kingdom of Kaliṅga. Dantapura is mentioned in the *Daladavaṁśa*. It is said that the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of Buddha was brought by one of his disciples to Kaliṅga and a large *Stūpa* was built over it. In course of time, a large city rose round the *Stūpa*, and it was called 'Dantapura'. The Buddhists lived in a village close by. The people of Ceylon, attracted by the miracles worked by the tooth, established a colony, not far from Dantapura. Ultimately, when the *Stūpa* was destroyed by the malice of Brāhmaṇas, the tooth was taken away to Ceylon."[2]

On the way from Śrīkākulam to Sidhāntam (Siddhārthaka-grāma, a Buddhistic village) and close to the latter place, a large tract of land is shown as the site of the fort of Dantavaktra.[3] Valuable jewels, images of all kinds, coins and such other articles used formerly to

[1] *E. I.* XVIII, p. 308 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* XIV, p. 361.

[3] This grant was noticed by Krishna Sastri in *the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922-23, p. 134.

be found there by the cultivators. Even now the people believe that there was immense wealth, preserved there once. About 12 miles north of Siddhāntam and on the same side of the Nāgāvalī[1] is the village Hiramaṇḍalam, which name is only a corruption of 'Īramaṇḍala' (the Tamil Īla-Maṇḍalam), the ancient name of Ceylon. Siddhāntam must be the village where the Buddhists lived. These facts prove that Dantapura stood on the place which is now shown as the site of the fort of Dantavaktra.

Kurakarāṣṭra has, perhaps, given its name to the village of Kurchavalasa, about 4 miles north-west of Siddhāntam.

Bhukkukura is Bukkur in the Pālakoṇḍā taluk and is opposite to Purle on the river. Kurakarāṣṭra corresponds to the modern Pālakoṇḍā taluk.

(15) Tekkali plates of Indravarman of *G. E.* 154. This inscription was edited by Dr. E. Hultzsch in *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 307—311 ff. The plates were secured by Sri L. N. Dev, Rājā of Tekkali. The learned editor makes an elaborate study of the dates of the Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga. In this connection he writes—

"The date of this inscription is the year 154. This date induces me to re-examine the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava. which I had originally read as 183.[2] Kielhorn noted already that the middle figure is certainly not the numerical symbol '80' but '8'.[3] The third figure of the year resembles the usual form of '3'; but, as the date is recorded also in words, it must be meant for '3'. Būhler solved this little problem in a very ingenious manner by explaining the figure three of these plates as an abbreviation for '*Lōka*', "the three world".

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[1] The editor has wrongly put Nāgāvalı instead of Vaṁśadhārā.
[2] *E. I.* III, p. 133 ff.
[3] *Ibid.* V, app. p. 91 ff.

Hence, the year is in reality '183'. The date of the same grant consists of the decimal figure '2' followed by cipher (0) – '20'. If you now re-examine the date of the Purle plates of Indravarman, the son of Dānārṇava, the year turns out to be not '149' but '137'; and the day '20'; and the year of the one of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman is not '146'[1] and its day is '10ḷ' (still expressed by a numerical symbol). If we go back to other Chicacole plates of Indravarman,[2] we find that both the second figure of the year and the first figure of the day are expressed by numerical symbols—'128' and '15'. Subsequently, to '183', the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava,[3] even the first figure is represented by a numerical figure and is expressed by a decimal in '195' the year of the Siddhāntam plates of the Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava.[4] The day of the same grant is '5ḷ' (changed unnecessarily by the editor into *Dattala*). I may be excused for having gone into such details, because this digression will, in future, induce editors including myself, to be more careful and methodical in handling the date of the Eastern Gaṅgas."

While giving an abridged translation of the text Dr. Hultzsch writes—

"From the residence of Kaliṅganagara, the worshipper of the god Gōkarṇasvāmi, on the Mahēndra Mountain, the ornament of spotless family of the Gaṅgas, who has obtained the sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga the fervent devout to Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of his mother and father, the son of the glorious Dānārṇava, the glorious *Mahārāja* Indravarman, commands (as follows) the ryots, accompanied by all others, at the village of Tuṅganna, in the Rupyavati district (*Viṣaya*).

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[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 133

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121

[3] *E. I.* III, p. 133

[4] *Ibid.* XIII, p. 213

Be it known to you that one plough (*hala*) of land in this village, measured by the rod (*used for*) *Brāhmādāyas*, exempting it from the burden of all taxes, making it to last as long as the Moon and the Sun, has been granted for the increase of the spiritual merit of my mother, the Lady Acchipoṭi, on an eclipse of the sun, with previous (*libations of*) water, to Skandaśarman, who resides at Gōkarṇa, and belongs to the *gotra* of the Sandilyasa, a student of the Vājasaneya *Caraṇa*, who has mastered the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*."

The boundaries of the village are—

To the east, the Vidyudgaṅgā; to the south, a row of boulders for a distance which equals the shade of a man; to the west, the boundaries of Sarkarāvāṭaka, and to the north, the same Vidyudgaṅgā and the water of the tank of Tuṅganna, flowing out of the Karākhaṇḍi and Brāhmaṇa-Palāni (canals ?), enters this field until the crop ripens.

The executor was the *Mahāmahattara* Hariśarman. 100 and 54 years of the kingdom of increasing victory (*had then opposed*). This edict was written by the *Sarvādhikṛita Sāṁbapuropādhyāya*, the son of *Hastyadhyakṣa*, Dharmacandra, and engraved by Khaṇḍicandra, the son of Āditya *Bhōgika*.

(16) The Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava of *G. E.* 183. This inscription was edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *E. I.* III, pp. 130—134. The grant was made on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa-Saṁkrānti* in the lunar month of Māgha, *Su-Di.* 8. Dr. Kielhorn writes—

"The writer, in my opinion, has wrongly employed the numerical symbols for '8' and '30' instead of '6' for '80' and '3'. The following '20' he denoted by the symbol for '2' and the sign for '0'."

In the lines 25 to 27 the date is mentioned as "*Pravardhamāna - vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē-śataṃ-trirāśitiḥ* (*read 'Tryaśītiḥ'*) 100, 80, 3 *Śrāvaṇa-māsi-divē-viṃśati*, 20".

These plates were found at Śrīkākulam in the office record-room of the Principal Assistant Collector of Ganjam.[1] It is now preserved in the Madras Museum. The script of the inscription is considered by the editor as resembling that of the Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman (*See* No. 7). But, the editor's view is not tenable. The same script is also used in Dharmaliṅgeśvara plates of *G. E.* 204 (*See* No. 20 below).

The grant was issued from the victorious city of Kaliṅganagara in favour of the brothers Charampaśarman, Bhavaśarman, Śivaśarman, Viṣṇuśarman, Sōmaśarman and Kumāraśarman, who reside at Kaliṅganagara; who are students of the Chhandogya *Śākhā*; who are members of the Kṛiṣṇātrēya *gotra* and who have thoroughly studied the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*. The village which was granted to them was named Poppaṅgikā in Sarauṭaṁba (Sub-division) of Koṣṭrukavarttanī. The boundaries of this village are given as follows:—

To the east there is a trench which marks the boundary of the district. In the southern direction, likewise a trench. In the western direction, there is again a trench where the water from the Poppaṅgikā-hill falls and the water unites the Sāyadaka-hill and runs downwards as far as to the south. Towards the north, there is a *Kōsamba* tree and a *Giṇigiṇi* tree; then follows the boundary of the village of Kuruḍuṁbi; then the *Tiṅduka* tree; again a *Tiṅduka*, *Kadamba* and *Jambu* trees; then for a distance, which is equal to the shadow of a man, the district trench, which extends as far as the eastern direction.

[1] Śrīkākulam now forms a separate district in Andhra Pradesh

After the usual verses quoted from the *Vyāsa-gitā*, it is mentioned that this edict was written at the command of the king's own mouth by Pallavacandra, the son of Mātṛicandra, who was a descendant of the race of 'Apūrvanaṭa', in the year 183 of the prosperous reign of the Gaṅgas, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the 20th day. This edict is engraved by Sarvacandra, the son of Khaṇḍicandra *Bhōgika*.

(17) Dharmaliṅgeśvara (Gurāṇḍi) copperplate inscription of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava, of *G. E.* 184. They were noticed in the *Annual Epigraphic Report., Mad.* for years 1918-19; and it was edited by me in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 271—274. The plates were discovered from a small village named Aḍavā, near a big village called Gurāṇḍi in the Parlakhemundi taluk of the Ganjam District. It is situated at a distance of about 16 miles to the east of Parlakhemundi town. In the year 1932, I went to the said village and enquired about the discovery of the plates. The *Pūjāri* of the small dilapidated temple of Dharmaliṅgeśvara (Śiva) of Aḍavā informed me that he dug out an earthen pot from an old well. It contained two sets of copperplates, one being these plates and the other No. 20.

(18) Tirlingi plates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava of 192 *G. E.*[1]

This set of copperplates was discovered from Tirlingi, a village in Tekkali taluk of Śrīkākulam district in Āndhra Pradesh. It was edited by L. N. Harichandana Jagadeva, the late Rājā of Tekkali in *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300—303 ff. and re-edited by Sri R. K. Ghosal of Calcutta in the same journal in Vol. XX, pp. 232—236 ff. The total number of plates attached to a ring having a bull-emblem is three, each measuring 7·1″×2·9″.

[1] *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, pp. 75—80 ff.

The grant was issued by *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava, in the 30th day of Māgha and in 192 *G. E.*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse when a *Kanyādāna* was made in favour of a brāhmaṇa named Pillaśarman of Vāśiṣṭha *gotra* who was a *brahmacārin* of *Vahṛichasa śākhā* and also a master of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, together with his sister, Pillikasvāmini, at the instance of the (queen mother) Aṁbā. The donees resided in Kaliṅgapura, situated in Guṇḍraviṣaya. The village which was granted in this charter is called Navatula, situated in the district of Kōrāṣoḍaka-Pañcāli. This village was within the boundary of some other villages, namely, Māluva, Korabbā and Kōllāḍa. All these villages retain the old names up to the present day; and they are situated at a distance 10 to 12 miles to the south-east of Parlakhemundi town, on the road side, between Parlakhemundi and Tilaru Ry. Station.

The writer of this grant is Pallavacandra, the son of Mātṛicandra of Apūrvanaṭa family. The *Mahāmahttara* who ordered for writing the charter is Savarabhēṇḍaka Nandiśarman and the engraver is Sarvacandra, the son of Khaṇḍicandra *Bhōgika*.

(19) Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava of *G.E.* 195, Śrāvaṇa Kṛiṣṇa di, pañcamī. This inscription was edited by Mr. G. Ramadas, B. A. of Jaypore in *E.I.* XIII, pp. 212—216 ff. The grant was brought to light by one T. Papa Rao of the village of Siddhāntam, near Śrīkakulam. It was found in that village while digging the earth. The editor translates the last portion of the plates thus:—

"Be it known to you that we have given with libations of water one *hala* of land including the water course and the house site, situated in the Brahmacārin-quarter of this village, the water during

the summer months being enjoyed equally with the other families, during the sun's progress to the south (*Dakṣiṇāyana*), to Taṁparaśarmā Dīkṣita, resident of Eraṇḍapalli, belonging to the Udavāha *gotra*, a student of the Ṛigvēda and well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*; and he having received it, has assigned a fourth share to his borther, Yajñaśarman. Having known this, therefore, there should be no obstacle put in the way of his enjoyment of the same. The marks of the boundaries of all sides of the place of land are here written down :—

In the north-western corner in the north-west a stone; in the east (a)................. *Karaka* tree, then to the east of the Chēda, the trench running towards the south, then a stone and then another stone; to the south of it in the south-eastern corner a stone; to the west of it tamarind trees; then to the west, in the south-western corner a stone; then, after that, stones in constant succession; then at the foot of the bund of the tank, a stone."

After usual *Vyāsa-gītā-ślokas*, it is mentioned that this edict was written by the officer, the illustrious Madanāṅkura Pallava, the son of Mātṛicandra of the family of Apūrvanaṭa, living in Eraṇḍapalli, by the order of the king, communicated by the *Purōhita* Caraṁpa Nandiśarman; given in the year 100. 90. 5........... of the victorious and progressive reign on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. The edict was engraved by the keeper of the records, namely, *Akṣyśālin*, Nāga *Bhoi*, the son of Śaṅkara.

With regard to the localities mentioned in this grant, the learned editor remarks that the village Siddhānthaka, like Tāmaracēru or (Tāmaracheruvu) of the other Gaṅga-plates, is mentioned as being situated in the district of Varāhavarttanī. Dr. Sten Konow in

his paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahastadeva (III), says that Tāmaracheruvu and its hamlet, Vāṭaka, should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.[1] For, the village Siddhānthaka which is also referred to in the Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman (No. 7 above) may be identified with Siddhāntam near Śrīkākulam where the plates were actually discovered. The district of Varāhavarttanī is probably in the region between the Vaṁśadhārā and the Nāgāvalī.[2]

The importance of this grant is that the name Eraṇḍapalli, which is mentioned in it, is also found in the inscription of Samudra Gupta of the 4th century A. D. In his Allahabad Pillar Inscription, it is mentioned that one Damana was the ruler of Eraṇḍapalli at the time of the Gupta invasion. Samudra Gupta proceeded to the south for subjugating these regions and extending his imperial power. It is, therefore, quite evident that Eraṇḍapalli was a separate kingdom in the 4th century A. D., but, subsequently ceded to Kaliṅga in the time of the Māṭharas.

The date of this inscription gives a clue to determine the commencement of the auspicious *era* of the Gaṅgas. If, according to our calculation, this *era* was started in A. D. 626-627,[3] then this grant, issued in *G. E.* 195, must correspond to 626+195=821 A. D. According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, the 23rd June (Sunday), 821 A. D. is equal to Karkaṭa Saṅkrānti, Śrāvaṇa-Kṛiṣṇa-Pañcamī.

(20) Dharmaliṅgeśvara (Gurāṇḍi) copperplate of Anantavarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 204. It was discovered, as stated before, along with plates in No. 17. It was edited by me in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 272—274 ff. and noticed in *Annual Ep. Rep., Madras*,

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[1] *E. I.* IX, p. 95
[2] *Ibid.* IV, p. 183
[3] Please see Appendix I

for the years 1918-19 and 1920-21 (C. P. No. 2). The grant was issued in *G. E.* 204 Mārgaśira, 13th day of Śukla-Pakṣa. The village Tālatthēra in Kōṣṭruka-varttanī was granted in favour of a Brāhmaṇa, named Viṣṇu Sōmācārya of Parāśarasa *gotra* who belonged to Śṛiṅgaṭīkāgrahāra in the district of Kāmarūpa. In this grant the donor Anantavarman's brother, Jayavarman, is mentioned. The places mentioned in the record are given below:—

1. Tāṭṭapura—Which may be identified with the present Tālasiṅgi in the Parlakhemundi taluk.
2. Hēmasṛiṅga—(a mountain which may be identified with the present Rattansiṅgi).
3. Kōṅgaparvata—Which are not identified, but may be the present Ghōraṇīparvata.
4. Devaparvata— ?
5. Kōrkaṇṭa—Which may be identified with the present Kāṇṭāgaḍa.
6. Tālatthēra—The present Tālapāṭiyā, which is a village near the same place where the plates were discovered.

The numerical symbols given in this plate are according to the system of place-value, but not that of the old system which required no place-value.

(21) Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman of *G. E.* 216.

It is one of the four sets of copperplate inscriptions discovered from the village of Andhavaram in Narsannapeta taluk of Śrīkākulam district. This set consists of three copperplates, each measuring 6″×2″. They are hinged on a copper-ring which contains the Gaṅga-seal having the emblem of a couchant bull facing the proper right and a lotus flower. This inscription has been edited by R. Subrahmanyam of Guntur in *E. I.* XXXI, pp. 200—202 ff.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Ānandapura which should be identified with the present village of Andhavaram wherefrom the plates were discovered. The grant is made by *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, in the district of Varāhavarttanī in favour of several learned Brāhmaṇas who belonged to different *gotras* in the Gaṅga-*era* 216. The document is written by Gaṅgōpādhyāya and engraved by the *Akṣaśālin* Mātṛicandra. While giving the boundaries of the village of Ānandapura, it is stated that to the east there is a village Indrapura and to the south the meeting place *Trikuṭa* of Indrapura and Dantapura. To the west there are some villages called Oruvaṅgapāḍā, Bukaḍapāṭaka, Sāmantapāṭaka and Śakunagrāma. It shows that it was a very thickly populated area of Kaliṅga. Dantapura, which is one of the capitals of Kaliṅga, was situated with a very close range from the modern Andhavaram of Narasannapeta taluk.

(22) Sāntābommāli copperplates of Nandavarman, the son of Anantavarman of *G. E.* 222, Āṣāḍha, Śuddha, 5, were discovered from a village named Sāntābommāli in Tekkali taluk, while a cultivator of that village was ploughing his field for the purpose of cultivation. It seems that numerous old relics, including sculptures and fragments of monuments, were discovered in a field near this village. Two or three sets of copperplate inscriptions were also found nearby. Sāntābommāli is a part of the Bommāli taluk, the ancient name of which place was probably "Bombāḍi-Viṣaya" of Kaliṅga, which has been mentioned in some inscriptions.

This inscription was edited by me in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 185—189 ff. The village Cikhallikā was granted to the following Brāhmaṇas who belonged to the Kouṇḍinya *gotra*,—Ādityaśarman, Mātṛiśarman and

Durgaśarman, free from any burden of taxes, till the existence of the moon and the sun, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The said eclipse should have been occurred five days before the date mentioned in this record. The village Cikhallikā in Pharēya-Bhukti was granted to the donees.

(23) A copperplate inscription of Dōvēndravarman of *G. E.* 251 was noticed in Dr. Kielhorn's *Northern List, No. 682*. But, no details regarding its discovery is coming forth.

(24) Vizagapatam plates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman of *G. E.* 254, were edited by Dr. Fleet in the *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 143—146 and they were noticed in Kielhorn's *Northern List, No. 681*. Mr. Sewell has also noticed these plates in the *Archaeological Survey, Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 15, No. 93. Mr. Sewell has handed over the plates to Dr. Fleet in 1881 for examination. Each plate measures $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$. The last portion of the text as translated by Dr. Fleet runs thus:—

"Be it known to you that, by us, who have been admonished to perform this act of religion by our maternal uncle, the illustrious Dharmakheḍi, in connection with the rites of an *Ayana*, and in order to increase the religious merit of our parents and of ourselves, these villages, with their boundaries as they are being enjoyed from former times, have been given to the Holy god *Bhaṭṭāraka* Dharmeśvara. After quotation of 5 benedictory and imprecatory verses, attributed to *Vyāsa*, it is stated that in the presence of *Purōhita* Ādityadēva, by the command of our own mouth, this charter has been written by the illustrious Ugradeva, and has been engraved by the *Akṣaśālin* Sāmantakhaṇḍi ; namely in two centuries of the year, increased by the 54th year, *i.e.*, in 254 ; on the first lunar day in the first fortnight of the month Phālguna;

in the time when the superintendence of the shrine (*Āsthānādhikāra*) belong to the Holy Brāhmaṇa Sōmācārya."

The scripts, employed in this inscription, are a mixture of the northern type and of the southern type.

The importance of the plate lies in the name of the donor, Dēvēndravarman's maternal uncle, Dharmakhēḍi, who must have happened to be a member of the Kadamba dynasty of Kaliṅga. We meet with the name of Dharmakhēḍi in many other inscriptions which belong to the 11th century A.D. and also the 6th century *G. K. E* (*Gaṅga-Kadamba-era*).

It is doubtful whether the *G. E.*, quoted in this inscription, is 254 or 354. If it is 254, then we must conclude that Dharmakhēḍi of this plate is a different person from Dharmakhēḍi of the Mandasa and Siṁhapura copperplate inscriptions, mentioned below in Nos. 38 and 35 respectively.

(25) A copperplate grant of Anantavarman, the son of Rājēndravarman of *G. E.* 284, is noticed in *Anl. Ep. Rep., Mad.* for 1918 and 1924, pp. 137-138 ff. and 97-98 ff. respectively. This grant is not yet edited in any research journal. So, no details of it are available at present.

(26) Ālamandā plates of Anantavarman, the son of Rājēndravarman of *G. E.* 304, were found from the village, Ālamandā in the Sriṅgavarapukoṭā taluk of Visakhapatnam district. They were edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *E. I.* III, pp. 17—19 ff. The learned editor translates the grant as quoted below:—

"Be it known to you that, at the consecration

of the tank which took place at an eclipse of the sun, this village (Medelaka) was given, with libations of water to Viṣṇudēva's son, Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, of the Vājasanēya *Śākhā* and the Kauśika *gotra*, who resides at Hoṁbaravala, and who thoroughly knows the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*."

After giving a monotonous description of the boundaries, it is recorded that the edict was written by the Private Secretary (*Rahasya*) Durgappa and engraved by the keeper of Records (*Akṣaśālin*), in the year 304 of the prosperous and victorious reign of the Gāṅgēya race.

(27) The Jayapur plates of Rājēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman and grandson of Jayavarman. Unfortunately, no text of these plates has so far been available. The following notes [1] of Dr. A. C. Burnell attracts our attention regarding these unknown Jayapur plates—

"A few inscriptions............have been found near Jayapura (in the Ganjam district),[2] they are of the tenth century."

Then, he writes in the foot note—

The dynasty to which these belong seems to have been established by fugitives of the Vēngi family in the 7th century.........These kings again rose to power for a time, and appear to have resided at Kaliṅga-nagara. The succession is—

Jayavarmadēva
|
Anantavarmadēva (in 985 A. D.)
|
Rājēndravarmadēva [3]

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[1] *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 53, foot note No. 4

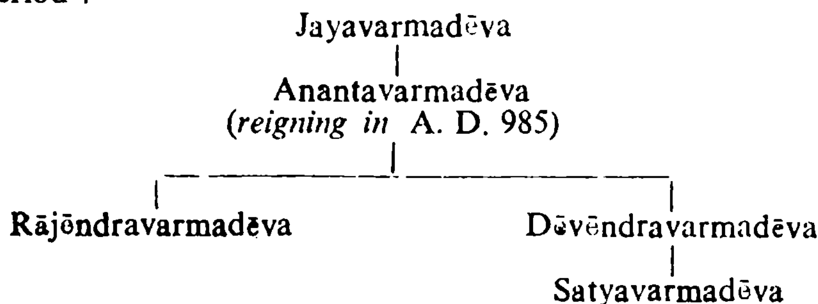
[2] Now in the Koraput district in Orissa

[3] Dr. J. F. Fleet, while editing the Chicacole grant of Dēvēndravarman, has referred to this note of Burnell (Vide *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 274).

Unfortunately, Dr. Burnell does not throw any light on the source of his information while he arrived at the conclusion as stated above along with the date of Anantavarmadēva, the son of Jayavarma and father of Rājēndravarman, as A. D. 985, equal to 907 Śaka year. Anyway, we cannot ignore the value of this little information, since it comes from a renowned epigraphist like Mr. Burnell, who gives a definite date for Anantavarman. It might be that he himself examined a set of copperplates, discovered somewhere near Jayapur, which have not yet come to light, but preserved somewhere either in India or abroad. We are, therefore, neither able to reject nor accept the date relating to the Anantavarman, mentioned in Dr. Burnell's book.

In this connection I like to quote the following remarks of Robert Sewell from his *Archaeological Survey of South India*, Vol. II, p. 183 :—

Later on, we come to the descendants of this Indravarman in the tenth century. After the Chālukyan conquest in the seventh century, we hear little or nothing of the Kaliṅga Gaṅgas till about the year 917 A.D. (Vide Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, X, p. 243). At that period, there ensued a period of anarchy in the Eastern Chālukyan territories which lasted for 27 years at least, and the Kaliṅga princes again rose to power for a time at Kaliṅganagara. The following short genealogy is gathered from inscriptions of this period :—



Sewell thinks that Satyavarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman, who issued a grant in the 51st *Saṁvat* might have used an *era* which was probably started by Jayavarmadēva, the first Gaṅga king of this branch.

All these old theories do not help us in considering the correct genealogy of the early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. Similarly, we are not impressed by the notes of Dr. Burnell who has assigned one Anantavarman, the son of Jayavarman and father of Rājēndravarman, to 985 A. D. Anyway, Dr. Burnell's note stands at present partially true, for any historical purpose.

(28) The Sālantri plates or the Musunika grant of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 306. These plates were discovered in the village of Sālantri in Srīkākulam district of Andhra Pradesh. The set consists of three copperplates, attached to a ring having the Gaṅga emblem of a lying bull. Each plate measures 7·3″×3·2″. They were edited by M. Narasimham in the *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 115, and re-edited by V. V. Mirashi in *E. I.* XXX, pp. 23—28.

Mirashi gives an abridged content of the grant as quoted below:—

"The plates refer to the reign of the Gaṅgā king, *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, the son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rājēndravarman. They were issued from Kaliṅganagara and record the grant of the village Musunika, situated near Sidhārtha, in the territorial division of Varāhavarttanī, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The grant is dated at the end in the year 306 (expressed in words) of the Gāṅgeya kingdom, *i. e.*, the Ganga *era*.[1] While stating the boundaries of the donated village, the following neighbouring villages are

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[1] In A. D. 703, there was a solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika. From this date up to Bhādrapada of A. D. 705 there was no solar eclipse. Therefore, this test does not stand in favour of Mirashi's calculation.

mentioned, *viz.*, Mukurumbaka, Aralaka, Yavayaṭika and Yamivāṭaka. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa called Āditya Viṣṇuśarman, the son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, and, at the time of the grant, was residing at Nagara. A third part of the village was given to his brother, Bhānuśarman. The grant was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Sarvacandra and was engraved on the plates by *Akṣaśālin* Khaṇḍimalla.

(29) The Bangalore copperplates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Rājēndravarman of *G. E.* 310, were found in the office of the Inam Commissioner, Bangalore (Mysore State), and were noticed in the *Ep. Carnatika*, Vol. IX, p. 33 by Mr. Lewis Rice, the Director of Archaeological Research of Mysore State. Since the learned editor did not properly edit this inscription, I requested the Mahārājā of Parlakhemundi in 1947 to bring a photo copy of the document for decipherment. The *Mahārājā* was pleased to bring the same for my examination, and after reading the text from these photographs, I published the text in my *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 113--117 ff. Mr. Rice adds a brief note on this inscription, stating that the date of the grant is 700 A. D. It is rather strange how he could ascertain the date without referring to the starting period of the auspicious *era* of the Gaṅgas. This plate is a very important record so far the emblem and the royal seal as found on it are concerned. The seal of the plate contains the figure of an elephant which is not usually met with in the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. The royal emblem in the Kaliṅga plates is usually a lying bull. But, the Western Gaṅgas adopted the emblem of an elephant which was borrowed by the donor of this grant, *i. e.*, Dēvēndravarman. Why this has

occurred and why Dēvēndravarman's grant was found in a distant place like Mysore, are the questions still hidden in obscurity. But, after going through the text of the grant, we find that his *Guru* was residing in Śrīśaila which is not very far from the kingdom of the Western Gaṅgas. Probably, the capital of the religious *Gurus* of the Gaṅgas was in Śrīśaila, when the original line of the Gaṅgas was living in Dākṣiṇātya. After they left their home land and migrated to Kaliṅga, they had a similar centre on the summit of the Mahēndra, which they referred to in each and every grant they issued in Kaliṅga. This is an important clue to consider where the original home of the Eastern Gaṅgas was. The Western Gaṅgas, in their epithets, mention the name of their family deity as Nandagirinātha which is a shrine on the top of Śrīśaila. A similar epithet was also used by the Eastern Gaṅgas of the Śvētaka branch who called themselves as worshippers of Nandagirinātha; and both the branches established Kōlāhala as their headquarters. For these reasons, it is quite evident that the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Western Gaṅgas originally belonged to one homogeneous stock. We believe that they migrated from the west—a region known as Kōṅkaṇa of the Bombay Presidency.

(30) Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) plates of Dēvēndravarman are edited by Dr. Śrī Narayana Rao, M. A., L. I., Ph. D. and Prof. R. Subba Rao, M. A., LT., in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185—187 ff.

The history of the discovery as given by the editors is that, "six copperplate inscriptions were discovered near Chicacole, and sent in 1918 to the Superintendent, Government Epigraphy Department, Madras, for examination. He noticed them in his *Annual Report* for the years 1918-19, and returned them to the owner, Mr. C. Narayana Rao.

The grant was made by *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Dēvēndravarman, the son of Śrī Rājēndravarman. A village named Biriṇika in Puṣkariṇīviṣaya was granted in favour of one Chētilākayabya,[1] the son of Balaci. The boundaries mentioned in the grant record the name of some neighbouring villages, such as (1) Māraḍā, (2) Puṣkariṇī and (3) Kumārikābhāṭagrāma. This was engraved by an officer named Sarvacandra who is designated as *Śrīsāmanta* and whose name is also found in some other records (Nos. 30 & 31 below).

From palaeographical consideration, I think this king is the same as the donor of the Tekkali plates of Rājēndravarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 110 (?).[2]

The names of the writer and engraver are the same in both the documents. The scripts adopted in them are in the South Kanara type of characters.

(31) The Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) plates of Dēvēndravarman.

In 1918, six sets of copperplate inscriptions, discovered from Chicacole (Śrīkākulam), were sent to the Government Epigraphist, Madras, for examination and they were noticed in the *Annual Report for Epigraphy, Madras*, for the years 1918-19. It is one of the six sets, jointly edited by Dr. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 18—27 ff.

The plates are three in number and each plate measures about $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. They are attached to a ring containing the royal seal with the figure of a lying bull facing proper left. The bull has a belt of bells tied around its neck. To the left side of the seal,

[1] The learned editors wrongly read Hetilokayabya. But, it should be Chētilākayabya which is clearly readable from the litho-print, published along with the plates.

[2] *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 311—313 ff.

there is a crescent at the top and below it is the figure of a fish ; and to its right there is an *aṅkuśa* (elephant goad). All these figures have been carved out in bold relief with much artistic skill.

The charter records the gift of a village named Biriṇika in the district of Puṣkariṇīviṣaya by the Gaṅga King, Dēvēndravarman, the son of Rājēndravarman, to one Chātilākayabya, the son of Bilici, free of all taxes to exist as long as the sun, the moon and the stars would endure. This village, excluding the portion endowed to the Bhaṭṭārikā (goddess), will be enjoyed by the four brothers.

The boundaries of the village are as follows:—

In the east the village of Marada (and) the boundary-bridge (*Sīmā-setuḥ*) and the woods ; in the south the boundary-bridge of Puṣkariṇīgrāma (and) a row of forest.

[Then follow five benedictory and imprecatory verses.]

The grant is written by Sarvacandra, the *Śrīsāmanta*. The plates are engraved by *Śrīsāmanta* Khaṇḍimalla.[1]

(32) The Indian Museum plates (or Badakhemundi plates) of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Rājēndravarman, of *G. E* 308, were edited by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, in *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 73—78 ff. These plates were discovered and secured by me from a village called Pālajhāḍi in the Ex-Zamindary of Badakhemundi in Ganjam District. They were discovered along with nine sets of copperplate inscriptions, found under the earth in that village. In the year 1935, I got information about the discovery and purchased the plates from the owner. Subsequently, they were acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they are now preserved.

[1] Khaṇḍimalla's name is found in Nos. 24 & 25.

This set consists of three copperplates, attached to a circular ring, containing the usual emblem of the Gaṅgas, *e. g.*, a lying bull. Each plate measures 5. 3/4″×3″. This inscription is a palimpsest record. The plates are not properly arranged. The lines 1—7 are found on the first side of the second plate while the continued matter after the 7th line (*i.e.*, lines 8—15) are on the sceond side of the first plate. Lines 16—23 are inscribed on the first side of the first plate and the rest on the second side of the third plate. This charter records the grant of a village called Puruṣthāna on the Mahēndra in Bōrudravakōṇa[1] of Lohaḍhūgara, by Dēvēndravarman, the son of *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman, to a brāhmaṇa named Gōvindaśarman, the son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa[2] of Vatsa-*gōtra* and a follower of *Yajurvēda* and Kaṭha *Caraṇa* who came from Patañkaḍa-rājya of Uttara Rāḍha at the time of an eclipse of the sun. The plates were written by one Sarvacandra and engraved by Acanali Khaṇḍi, the *Śrisāmanta*, in *Pravardhamāna-saṁvatsara*, 308.

With regard to the composer and engraver of this document Dr. Chhabra says that they are identical with the composer and engraver of the following plates :—

Plates	*Composer*	*Engraver*
(1) Bengalor (See No. 29 above)		Śrī Khaṇḍivili
(2) Chicacole (See No. 31 above)	Sarvacandra *Śrīsāmanta.*	*Śrisāmanta-* Khaṇḍimalla
(3) Tekkali (See No. 30 above)	*Rahasya-* *Śrīsāmanta-* Sarvacandra	*Akṣaśālin &* *Śrisāmanta* Khaṇḍimalla

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[1] Dr. Chhabra reads Purujvanā or Puruṣthāna and Bukudravaka or Bukudravakoṇa.

[2] It should be pointed out here that one Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa is the author of the *Veṇisaṁhāra*.

(4) Indian-Museum. (the present plate)	*Rahasya-* Sarvacandra	*Akṣaśālin &* *Śrīsāmanta* Khaṇḍimalla

(33) The Pāḍali grant of Anantavarman's son, *Yuvarāja* Rājēndravarman of *G.E.* 313 is edited in *E.I.* XXXII, pp. 201—206 ff., by Dr. D.C. Sircar. The grant is made by Śrī Lōka Mahādēvī, mother of Rājēndravarman in Gaṅga-*era* 313 when her son Rājēndravarman was a minor and designated as *Yuvarāja.* It is not known if his father, Anantavarman, was alive at the time of issuing the grant. The village Pāḍali is granted in favour of Kañcipoḍi Bhaṭṭārikā (goddess) for *Vali* and *Caru.* The writer of the grant is one *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Sāmirāja and the engraver is the *Akṣaśālin Śrīsāmanta.*

(34) Mandasa plates of Rājēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman, of *G.E.* 342, were noticed in the *Annual Report for Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1918 (*G. O.* No. 1172 September, 1918), p. 13. These plates were received from the Ex-Rājā of Mandasa, Śrīkākulam District.

The plates are so illegibly engraved in clumsy characters of the 9th century A. D. South Indian type that it is almost impossible to read them without doubts. The inscription registers the grant of a village named Tāmvaddi in Śāilaviṣaya. The donee's name is not found in it. The grant was issued from Kaliṅganagara. The seal of the plates bears in relief a bull facing the right and sitting on a stand raised on a tri-petalled lotus, opening upwards. Above it are found the crescent turned downwards and the sun enclosed in its arms. The writing on the plates is very faintly visible. The plates do not appear to have undergone any damage through corrosion, bad preservation or

otherwise, but their surface seems to have been filled up in time to smoothen it to use it subsequently as palimpsest.

The inscription records the grant of a village by Rājēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman of the Gaṅga family. The characters of the inscription resemble a good deal to those of the Ālamaṇḍā plates of the time of the king Anantavarman.[1] The characters of these two inscriptions belong to the 9th or 10th century A. D. The donor's name is not quite clear. The son (whose name is not quite distinct in the plates) of one Sarva Āya Kāmaḍi is mentioned. A certain Cōla Kāmaḍi Rāja appears in the grant of Vajrahasta in the Parlakhemundi plates as the actual donor.[2] It is difficult to determine from the conditions of the letters here whether the Kāmaḍi of our inscription was also the donor as in the other case. The record was composed by *Sandhi-vigrahin* Raṇāmēya. It is significant to note here that the name Raṇāmēya is also mentioned in the *G. K. E.*, 526 of the Chicacole plates of Madhukāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman.[3] It proves that Madhukāmārṇava was the son of Anantavarman whose Mandasa plates are issued in *G. E.* 342. As I have stated before, the *G. E.* is different from the *G. K. E.* 526 of the Chicacole plates engraved by Raṇāmēya. It corresponds to about *G. E.* 342 of the present grant of Anantavarman. So, there is a difference of about 180 years between these two *eras*, namely, the Gaṅga-*era* and the Gaṅga-Kadamba-*era*.

The Government Epigraphist, Madras, in 1918, while writing his report on this copperplate inscription, opines thus :—

"Rājēndravarman, the son of *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, in whose reign the grant was issued, is not known

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[1] *E. I.* III, p. 17 ff.
[2] *Ibid.* III, p. 22 ff.
[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 168—180 ff.

from a large number of other records. Combining the genealogy of Anantavarman, the son of Rājēndravarman, whose grant is issued in the 304th year of the *G. E.* with that of our inscription, dated the 342nd year of the same *era*, we get three successive generations of this dynasty, *viz.*, *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman, his son Anantavarman (304th year), and his son *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman (342nd year). Palaeographically, these two grants resemble those of the two Dēvēndravarmans, the sons of *Mahārāja* Anantavarman. One dated in the 254th year, is evidently of the *G. E.*[1] and the other[2] which purports evidently by clerical mistake, to be dated in the 51st year of this *era* and the grant of Satyavarman dated in the 351st year of this *era*.[3] These records read together would give us a list of kings thus :

(1) *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, (2) his son, Dēvēndravarman (254th year), (3) *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman and (4) his son Satyavarman (351st year).

The chronological order of these kings has been discussed in my *Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II, Nos. 20 and 32.*

(35) Simhapura copperplate inscription of Dharmakhēḍi of *Gaṅga-Kadamba-Vaṁśa-Pravardhamāna-Saṁvatsara*, 520. It was edited by me in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 171. In this grant, the donor, Dharmakhēḍi, the son of Bhīmakhēḍi and grandson of Niyārṇava, calls himself as a *Pañca-viṣaya Maḍalēśvara* and a ruler of Mahēndra (*Mahēndrādhipati*) who belonged to the Kadamba-Vaṁśa. He was a subordinate chief under the Gaṅga King of Kaliṅga, namely Ananta Brahma and his son Dēvēndra Brahma.[4] A village named Dharmapura,

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[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 144 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 11. ff.
[4] The engraver wrongly writes "Brahma" for "Varman".

in the district of Mahēndra-bhoga, was granted to 300 brāhmaṇas headed by two brothers, named Dādā Nāyaka's son Dudurāvalaka and Sābu Nāyaka's son Cāmaṇḍaka, who belonged to Vatsa-*gōtra*, and migrated from Sālivaṇa Dadapura. The grant was made in *G. K. E.* 520, by Dharmakhēḍi who must be the grantor of the Mandasa charter of *Nava-śataka sapta rasa.* The name of Dharmapura, mentioned in this grant, is also found in some stone inscriptions of Mukhaliṅgam.[1]

(36) Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman :--

The set consists of three copperplates each measuring 7·1/16″×2″. They are attached to a ring with a royal seal having the emblem of a bull couchant to the proper right with the moon above it.

The purport of the grant as given by Fleet in *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, is quoted below:—[2]

The order recorded in this inscription was issued from the victorious residence situated at the city of Kaliṅganagara (Line 2), by the glorious Dēvēndravarma-dēva (L. II), who has had the stains of the Kali-age removed by performing obeisance to the god Śiva under the name of Gokarṇasvāmi (L. 4), established on the pure summit of the Mahēndra (L. 2), who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (11-9-10), and who is the son of the *Mahārāja* Anantavarmadēva, the glory of the family of the Gaṅgas (11-10-11). It is addressed to the *Kuṭuṁvins* residing in the village of Tāmaracēru in the Varāha-varttanī *Viṣaya* (11-11-12) on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun (1,15), and after performing libations of water before Gokarṇa Bhaṭṭāraka on the summit of the mountain Mahēndra (11-14-15), the said village of Tāmaracēru was given by Dēvēndravarma to three

[1] *A. S.* Nos. 1045, 1111, 1343 and Vol. X Nos. 700 & 702. *See* also *Ins.*, *Or.*, Vol. III, pp. 220, 229, 240, 241 & 261 ff.

[2] Some unnecessary portions are left out (author).

hundred brāhmaṇas of the Vājasanēya *Caraṇa* (1.13). The boundaries of the village are defined in lines 15 to 19, but this passage contains nothing of importance. Lines 19 to 22 contain two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. In lines 22 and 23 there is given, in words, the date as the fifty-first year of the augmenting and victorious reign of the Gaṅgēya lineage; and lines 23 and 24 record that the inscription was written or composed by the *Sāmanta* Nāgarāja*, and was engraved by the *Akṣaśālin* Sarvadeva.

Dr. Fleet suggests that the date of this grant cannot be the Gaṅga-*era* 51. But, he puts it as 251 for the reason that Satyavarma's grant was issued in 351 on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Since the present grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse, although Satyavarma's father is Dēvēndravarma and Satyavarma's inscription is similar to this grant on palaeographical grounds, it cannot be taken that both the grants were issued in the same year (*i. e.*, Gaṅga-*era* 351), as two sun-eclipses do not usually occur in one year, and that the father (Dēvēndravarma) and son (Satyavarma) could issue their charters in the same year on two occasions.

Although Fleet's argument is quite sound, we cannot base on it, because the starting month of the Gaṅga-*era* is not the same as that of the current lunar year. As a matter of fact, if Gaṅga-*era* is started from the day of *Bhādrapada-śukla-dvādaśī* of the year 626 A.D., then the 351st year must start from the 28th August, 977 A.D. and end on the 18th August, 978 A.D. Within this period, there occurred two solar eclipses, the first eclipse being on the 13th December, 977 A.D. and the second on the 8th June, 978 A.D. [1]

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* Is he the author of the *Bhāvaśataka* in sanskrit ? (author)

[1] See Swami Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. II, pp. 357-358 ff.

So it is quite possible that Dēvēndravarman issued his grant on the 13th Dec., 977A.D. and after his death, his son Satyavarman granted on the 8th June, 978A.D. Therefore, there is no improbability in giving two grants by father and son in the same Gaṅga year when there occurred two solar eclipses.

(36) Chicacole plates of *Mahārāja* Satyavarman of *G. E.* 51 (?) are edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10—12 ff., No. CLII. This grant is the last of those found together with the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman at Chicacole. This was presented by Mr. Graham to the Madras Museum. The grant was issued from Kaliṅganagara by Śrī Satyavarman, the son of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman. The village, Tārugrāma, in Galēla-viṣaya was granted in favour of Khaṇḍyama guru's son, Kamalāsana Bhaṭṭāraka, who mastered the philosophy of *Paramārthā*. The *āgrāhāra* or *devāgrāhara* on the occasion of a solar eclipse, was also granted to him. It was written by the *Rahasya* (the Private Secretary), Khaṇḍi's son, Vīrappa, in the *G. E. Śatānāṃ-eka-pañcāśat.* It should be corrected as *Śatānāṃ-trēka-pañcāśat 351 G. E.*

The emblem of this grant consists of the figure of a Śaṅkha (conch) and Cakra (disc) together with an elephant-trunk. The figure of an elephant is found only in the Bangalore plates of Dēvēndravarman (*see* No. 29 above). The title *Gajapati* of this dynasty may be attributed in the elephant-crest.

According to the legends of the W. Gaṅgas of Mysore, the "Progenitor of the Kaliṅga Gaṅgas was Bhagadatta, between whom and his brother, Śrīdatta their father Viṣṇu Gupta divided his dominion, giving Kaliṅga to the former, and the ancestral kingdom with the elephant, to the latter.[1] According to the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Intro. p. 9.

accounts of Youn Chwang [1] the ruler of the south was known as the "*Lord of Elephants*," that of the west as the "*Lord of Horses*" and that of the east as the "*Lord of Men*".[2] In the inscriptions of the Ghadwal Gōvindacandra (12th century), there is the mention of these titles: *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rājatrayādhipati.* So, it is quite evident that these titles were used from the 7th century onwards by some royal families.

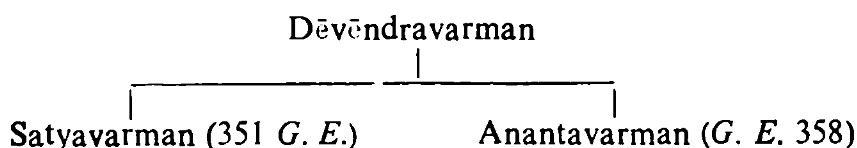
(37) Tekkali plates of Anantavarman of *G. E.* 358 were not properly edited till now; but the Government Epigraphist of Madras has given his opinion with regard to the information contained therein as follows:—

"The plates are preserved with the Rājā of Tekkali. The document is worded in a very corrupt style with the usual introduction of the Gaṅga grants praising the city, Kaliṅganagara, mentioning the glorious god Gōkarṇasvāmin established on the top of the mountain Mahēndra. Then, it proceeds to describe the qualities of the king Anantavarman, the son of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, and records the gift by him of the village Sinicarana together with its tank to Biṭhu Bhaṭṭa, the son of Hariścandra of the Kouṇḍinya *gōtra.* The date of the record is given in words as 358, and the occasion for the gift as the solar eclipse. The deed was composed by mātṛi *Śrisāmanta* and engraved by *Akhyaśāli* Nānaya.[3]

From the different wording of the script adopted and also from the definitely worded date of the record, it may be assigned to the period to which the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman dated in the *G. E.* 351 belongs. Our record dated in the year 358 would give 7 years after Satyavarman's grant and it is reasonable to infer that

[1] Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. 13
[2] *I. A.* XIII, pp. 273—276 ff. and *I. O.*, Vol. II, p. 143
[3] The correct reading is Napa.

Anantavarman, the king of the present record, who was also a son of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, was a younger brother of Satyavarman. The genealogy then tentatively stands thus:—



We have already got a line of kings for the period immediately preceding Satyavarman, noticed in the table on page 137 of the *Ep. Rep.* for 1918, *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman (I), his son Anantavarman of *G. E.* 304 and his son Rājēndravarman (II) of 342 *G. E.* Provisionally assuming that Rājēndravarman (I) was the son and successor of Dēvēndravarman of the Chicacole plates of the *G. E.*[1] 51 which on palaeographical and genealogical grounds would be assigned to the 251st year [2] and consequently identified its king with the Dēvēndravarman of 254th year of *G. E.* [3] and, for the similar reasons also. Assuming that Dēvēndravarman, the father of Satyavarman, was the younger brother of Anantavarman of the 304th year, the genealogy

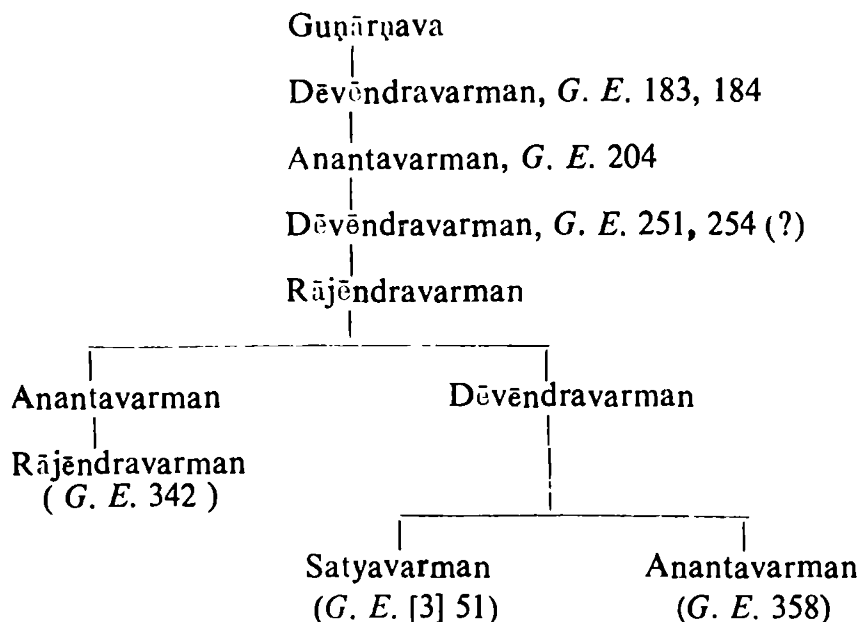
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[1] Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 682

[2] Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 480

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 681

for these kings may provisionally be reconstructed as given below:—



The supposition made in the above table regarding Dēvēndravarman, the father of Satyavarman, receives support from Dr. Hultzsch's remarks regarding him in *E. I.* XVIII, p. 312."[1]

(38) Mandasa plates of Anantavarmadeva, the son of Dēvēndravarman of Śaka, 913:—The plates were edited by Sri G. Rama Das, B. A., M. R. A. S. in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV (1931) Parts 2 and 3, pp. 175—188 ff. These plates form one of the sets of copper-plate grants of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for examination by the Raja Bahadur of Mandasa, a zamindar of the Ganjam District. They are reviewed in the *Madras*

[1] The Government Epigraphist, Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao is of opinion that the Christian year 493 should be taken as the starting point of the *G. E.* (See *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1931-32, p. 45, para. 3). We have dealt with this problem in the Appx.

Epigraphical Report for 1917-1918. Mr. G. Rama Das gives an extract of the contents as follows :—

The illustrious Anantavarmadeva of the family of the Gaṅgas who had the stains of Kali washed by making obeisance to the lotus feet of the Gōkarṇa; established on the golden summit of mountain Mahēndra, whose feet were brightened by the lustre of the crest jewels of the circle of chieftains subdued by his valour, who was the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of his father and mother and, who was the overlord of the whole of Kaliṅga, was reigning at Kaliṅganagara where the rows of white palaces abide the valours and the learning.

In the Śaka year 913, *Rāṇaka* Dharmakhēḍi, the son of *Rāṇaka* Ugrakhēḍi, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, born in the spotless family of the Kadambas, who had terrified a host of enemies to the west of the mountains and who was the governor of the five mountainous districts (Pañca-pātra-viṣaya)[1] issues the following order to the chief and other servants of the king as well as to the (Janapada) of the district.

Be it known to you for the favour of being *dharma* to our father, mother and ourselves, the village of Majhi Pathara-khaṇḍa in the region of Mahēndra, free from all obligations and taxes, has been granted by us to one Ervkalayadēva,[2] the son of Keśara and the grandson of Dhamasa with libations of water, by means of a copperplate charter that it might last as long as the sun, the moon and the earth last.

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[1] The learned editor here mistakes the term Pañcapātra as the proper name of a district; but indeed it is a designation denoting the five *Pātras* or Ministers under a sovereign King.

[2] The correct reading is Yerakuladēva.

This grant is of interest in studying the period of the donor. Mr. Rama Das is dealing with the palaeographical aspect of it while reading the numerical figures in the last plate, second line, as 1 and 5 and holds that they indicate that it belongs to the 11th century A. D. The date of this grant is interpreted by the editor as Śakābda 913, equal to A.D. (913+78) 991. But, some scholars give different interpretations to the expression "*Navaśataka-Sapta-Rasa-Mata*" as mentioned in the second plate, first side and 4th line Anyway, it is clear that "*Navaśataka+Sapta-rasa*" is equal to 978. So, Dharmakhēḍi must have been living in the last part of the 10th century A.D., when his overlord, Anantavarman, was living.

The editor has erred by saying that Dharmakhēḍi's overlord, Anantavarman, is not the name of a king but only an imperial title. But, from other records, it is clear that Anantavarman *alias* Vajrahasta is really the name of the king, when Dharmakhēḍi's grandson, Udayakhēḍi, was living.[1] The editor gives his opinion with regard to the identification of the donor of the plates as follows :—

The inscription gives two other titles of the king, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramēśvara*, which are the two titles not found in the charters of the earlier Gaṅga Kings, but found in the grant of Vajrahasta (V), and Cōḍagaṅga. Perhaps, these titles were assumed when he occupied a greater dominion. The western Cālukya king, Satyāśraya, assumed the title *Paramēśvara* as a special title after his victory over Harṣavardhana of Uttarāpatha. The Kaliṅga kings, Pṛithivīvarmadēva,[2] *Trikaliṅgādhipati* Vajrahastadēva

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[1] *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 1 ff.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 2

and Cōḍagaṅgadēva,[1] are the rulers, subsequent to the king of our plates, that bore these two titles. The Vajrahastadēva of the Parlakhēmundi plates (vide No. 39) was neither a *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Paramēśvara* nor a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka;* yet Dr.Hultzsch identified him with the Vajrahasta of the Nanḍagam plates. In this connection, it may be mentioned that such mistakes are unavoidable when identification is entirely based on synchronism.

From several points of view the Parlakhemundi plates appear to be older than the plates under review [2] :—

1. The shape of the letters and the proportion of Nāgarī and other characters used are to be considered.
2. The letters *Cha*, *Gha*, *Bha* and *Sa* which have been considered by scholars like Dr. Hultzsch as test letters of the period of the inscription, [3] are older than those employed in this inscription.
3. The Oriya influence so much felt in these plates is not to be found in Parlakhemundi plates except in the case of letter *Śrī*.
4. Ugrakhēḍi of the Kadamba family, mentioned in the Parlakhemundi plates, must be a predecessor of Dharmakhēḍi of this grant. Ugrakhēḍi must have been at least the father of this Bhīmakhēḍi, who was only a village *Pālaka*. By their prowess and loyalty to their king, they might have, from generation to generation, promoted from the stage of village heads to that of *Mahā-Maṇḍalēśvara*.

So, Vajrahastadēva of the Parlakhemundi plates may be identified with the Vajrahasta (III), who lived about 75 years earlier than the Anantavarmadēva of the Mandasa plates under review.

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[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 178—80.

[2] We are not able to accept this view

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X, No. 10, para. 4

The donor of the grant was Dharmakhēḍi, the son of Bhimakhēḍi of the Kadamba family. He had subdued the enemies in the west of the mountains by the five points of sounds and become the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and the *Pañca-Viṣayādhipati* (Lord of five districts). The province over which he ruled was called the district of *Pañca-pātra* (?). This grant records the gift, by this Dharmakhēḍi, of the village called Majhi Pathara-khaṇḍa in Mahēndra-bhōga (a part of the district) to an individual called, Yerukuladēva, the grandson of Dharmaka and the son of Kēśara.

The editor has wrongly concluded that the Kadambas were formerly only heads of villages according to the Parlakhemundi plates of Vajrahastadēva. But, from the original documents, it is found that Vajrahastadēva granted a village which was under the rule of one, Ugrakhēḍi. It does not mean that Ugrakhēḍi was only a village head or a '*Grāmapālaka*', but it is clear that the granted village was in his jurisdiction. From the Nirākārapura grant (vide No. 44 in chapter IV above), we know that the Kadambas of Kaliṅga lived only as subordinate chiefs under the Gaṅgas for some generations. From the plates of Dēvēndravarman (Vide no. 24), it is also clear that Dharmakhēḍi was a maternal uncle of Dēvēndravarman. So, the Kadambas had matrimonial relationship with the Gaṅgas of Kalinga. As such we cannot say that they lived as *Grāmapālakas*.

(39) Chicacole plates of Anantavarmadēva, the son of Dēvēndravarman, are edited by Dr. C. Narayan Rao and Prof. R. Subba Rao in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188—190 and re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *J. A. S. letters*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 47—51 ff. This set of plates form one of the six sets discovered from Chicacole including Nos. 35 and 30 above.

As for the date of these plates is concerned, the learned editors attribute them to the 8th or 9th century A. D. and they suggest that Anantavarman's father, Dēvēndravarman, is the same Dēvēndravarman of the grant No. 3 above. Both the documents were found in the same place and the language and script correspond to each other.

It is a grant made by Śrī Anantavarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman. A village named (?) in Kaṇṭaka-varttani-viṣays was granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse to some Brāhmaṇas. The significance of the charter is that the granted village was situated in a border country which was some times under the possession of the enemies of the donor and his family. So, it is called *Dviṣipadi* as mentioned in the record. While editing the copperplate inscription of the Eastern Gaṅgas in *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXV, parts 1 & 2 (1949), I discussed this question as follows :—

The question is, why and under what circumstance the auspicious *era* of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, which was in vogue for a long period covering 400 years, was abruptly ended in the beginning of the 11th century A. D.? The introduction of this *era* indicates the overlordship of the Gaṅgas over a vast territory. Even to-day, we find that there are some Zamindars in Orissa who belong to this ancient family and who observe the *Aṅka* and perform the minting ceremony in the month of Bhādrapada Śudha Dvādaśī (*Suniyā*). Presumably, this system was introduced in the country since a very remote time, ever since the Gaṅgas established their sway in Kaliṅga.... the day when the first year of the Gaṅga *era* was started. So, we find the epithet *Vijaya Rājya* which was probably afterwards called as the *Vijayā daśamī* for *Daśaharā* or the 10th day of the bright half of the

month of Āśvina. It is not improbable to say that the continuation of this ceremony became intermittent on account of some foreign interference which, I suppose, must have taken place during the reigning period of Kāmārṇava Bhūpēndravarman, whom we have already identified with the Kāmārṇava (I), A. D. 943—975. There is no wanting of evidence to prove that he was involved in some political troubles relating to the kingdoms of Veṅgī on one side and those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas-*cum*-Sōmavaṁśi Kings of Kośala on the other. Kaliṅga, being situated in a strategic position contiguous to these kingdoms, could not escape any political struggle started in the neighbouring countries.

During the middle of 10th century A. D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas rose into power under their valiant king, Krīṣṇā(III). With great vigour and ambition, he attacked the territories of Kāñcī and Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the Chōla kingdom.[1] After this, he turned towards Veṅgī and Kaliṅga. His movements in the Deccan received full support from Vīratuṅga, a powerful king of the Western Gaṅga family. Vīratuṅga married the sister of Kṛiṣṇā; consequently, his alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king helped the latter to extend his sway as far south as North Arcot. As a prince, Kṛiṣṇa's activities in the north confined in the Chēdi kingdom in spite of that he had matrimonial relationship with the rulers of that country. He occupied the fortress of Kālañjar and the forts of the Vindhya Mountain and Chitrakūṭa which belonged to the Chandelas. In the later part of his reign, he moved against the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.[2] His conquest in a lightning speed caused great confusion amongst all

[1]. *See* Karahad plates of Kṛiṣṇā (III) *E. I.* IV, p. 278 ff.

[2]. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188—190 ff.

those principalities who faced his aggression. Although he died in A. D. 968, the political repercussion due to his war activities did not desist from Deccan. [1] Recently, a set of copperplate inscription of Chāmara Vigraha of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was discovered from Baragarh in Sambalpur (Orissa) (edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *E. I.* XVIII.), which support to this view.

Hostilities between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the kings of Kaliṅga seem to have started long before Kāmārṇava Bhūpēndravarman[2] came to the throne. The Chicacole plates of Anantavarman [3] probably refer to these Rāṣṭrakūṭas as quoted below:—

.........Dēvēndravarmma-sūnuḥ Śrī Anantavarmmadēva kuśalī. Kaṇṭaka-varttani-viṣayē Rāṣṭrakūṭān rāja-karaṇādikān dēśikān vāstavyādīn jānapadān.........dviṣipadī mahyārpaṇa bhavatā........

Anantavarman, the donor of this grant, is undoubtedly the eighteenth king of our table No. I, in Ch. VI, and he is the father of Kāmārṇava Bhūpēndravarman. The royal *praśasti* which he adopted in this inscription is exactly the same as found in Satyavarman's grant (No. 36). This inscription was not correctly deciphered by Dr. C. Narayana Rao and Dr. Subbarao as was pointed out by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.[4] We read this inscription with the help of a litho print and arrive at a conclusion that *Mahārāja* Anantavarman granted a village in the district of Kaṇṭaka-varttanī situated on the borders of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom that belonged to his foe (*dviṣi*), as the phrase *'dviṣi-padi'* required proper explanation in order to elucidate the passage, quoted above.

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[1]. Most probably, he occupied the Sambalpur district and established a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty there.

[2]. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188—190 ff.

[3]. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188—190 ff; *Ins., Or.*, Vol. II, pp. 163-164 ff.

[4]. *E. I.* XXIII, p. 75 ff.

Since their adversity started in the 10th century A. D. the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi seem to have used Kaliṅga as a place of shelter in times of danger. Their alliance with the Gaṅgas must have encouraged them to turn towards Kaliṅga when foreign aggressions threatened their own security. But, the writers of the Chālukyan *Praśasti* in the later days depicted these unhappy events in such a fantastic way for which reason scholars had to arrive at wrong conclusions regarding the Eastern Chālukyas holding a portion of Kaliṅga under their own sway. But, actually it was not so; because they (the Eastern Chālukyas) indulged in the habit of using the dense forest tracts of Trikaliṅga as their hiding place. From the Masulipatam plates of Ammā (I) of A. D. 918—925, [1] we learn that he ruled over a portion of the forest of Trikaliṅga. In the Kolavennu grant of Chālukya Bhīma (II) (A. D. 925), it is stated that he ruled over the country of Trikaliṅga.[2]

Kāmārṇava (I) came to the throne of Kaliṅga in A. D. 943 and ruled for 25 years. Then, his brother, Vinayāditya, held the throne for three years only. After him came Vajrahasta, the son of Kāmārṇava *alias* Bhūpēndravarman. Now, serious political confusion prevailed in the neighbouring tracts of Vēṅgi owing to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa interference. Ammā (II) (A. D. 945--970) of the Eastern Chālukya family fought with great vigour against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛiṣṇa (III). In his inscription it is stated that in the 12th regnal year, *i. e.*, in A. D. 947, he proceeded to Kaliṅga appointing his brother, Dānārṇava, as the regent of Vēṅgi.[3] It is further stated that he

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[1] *E. I.* V., p. 131 ff.

[2] Trikaliṅga was under the Somavaṁśi kings of the western parts of modern Orissa State. (for details please see *Ins. Or.*, Vol. IV, pp. 385—388)

[3] C. P. No. 15 of Madras 1916-17; *A. R. M. E.*, 1917-18, Appendix 'A No. 1, G. O. No. 1035 (Home), dt. 10-8-1917, p. 8.

waged war against Kṛiṣṇa (III). Most probably, Ammā was supported by Kāmārāṇava. Otherwise, why should he proceed towards Kaliṅga to check the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inroad ? Probably this time, Kṛiṣṇa (III) led a big invasion against Kaliṅga and Vēṅgi which caused some internal troubles in the Chālukyan territory. In the Arumbaka plates of Bāḍapa,[1] it is mentioned that Ammā (II) at first ruled over Vēṅgi with Trikaliṅga; but, later on, proceeded to Kaliṅga where he lived as long as fourteen years, *i. e.*, from A. D. 956—970. But, in the Mangolu grant, it is stated that Ammā's brother, Dānārṇava, actually ruled over Kaliṅga after A. D. 970 when he deprived from the throne of Vēṅgi. Careful examination of these events will show that both Ammā and his brother, Dānārṇava, took shelter in Kaliṅga from 952—973 A. D. under the protection of the Gaṅgas. What induced Kāmārṇava to take a risky course can be elucidated from the study of the foreign policy, adopted by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.

In the year 970 A.D., Ammā (II) died and Dānārṇava came to the throne of Vēṅgi. But, his rule did not exceed three years. One Bāḍapa, a collateral aspirant of the Chālukyan throne, revolved with the help of Jaṭācōlabhīma of the south, who, not only killed Dānārṇava but also boasted of having victories over Kāmārṇava and his brother, Vinayāditya of Kaliṅga, as stated in his Kāñcīpuram inscription.[2] The broken passage of that inscription runs thus :—

Citram sudūram-api cāruku — Umantaṃ Kāmārṇṇavāndivam-ani U U—U bhūtaṃ । vyaktaṃ vyasisma pata—tsvati vaiparītyā Kāmārṇṇavaṃ bhuvinayan UU—U— — " UU—UU— — — ।

[1] *E. I.* XIX, p. 137. ff.
[2] *E. I.* XXXI, pp. 29—34 ff; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 17—60 ff.

Vinayād-anya—bhūpatēḥ, ...sa Srīmān-jaṭācōlabhīma-nṛpatiḥ.[1]

It is stated that Jaṭāchōla Bhīma, after killing Nṛipakāma and Dānārṇava of Vēṅgi in A.D. 973-74, led an expedition to Kaliṅga, although it was too far from his own territory.

We have already stated that Kāmārṇava (V) ruled up to A.D. 978. So, there is about 3 years' difference between the dates of the death of Dānārṇava of Vōṅgi and Kāmārṇava of Kaliṅga. Probably, during this time, Jaṭāchōla Bhīma made a huge preparation to wage war against a powerful kingdom like Kaliṅga.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar, while editing the Kanjeevaram inscription, has wrongly stated that this attack of Jaṭācōla was on Madhukāmārṇava (A. D. 1019—38), the 9th ruler of our table No. II Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, while re-editing this inscription, has correctly identified him with Kāmārṇava whose name is mentioned in that record. According to him, it is Kāmārṇava (V) (A.D. 943—78), who suffered a defeat in the hands of Jaṭācōla.[2]

During this period of political chaos, the use of the family *era* of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga was given up, although that was used intermittently up to the 11th century A. D. The last known *G. E.* was recorded in the Ciḍivalasā grant (vide No. 48) as 397. Therefore, it is quite improbable to say that the *Gaṅga-Saṁvat* and the *Gaṅga-Kadamba-Saṁvat* are one and the same. This wrong assumption led some scholars into gross mistakes which obscured the whole issue of the Gaṅga-*era*.

(40) Parlakhemundi plates of Vajrahasta, edited by Dr. F. Kielhorn. As for the discovery of the plates,

[1] Lines 28, 29, 30 and 31 of the Kanjeevaram inscription.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 35 ff.

the learned editor states that Mr. G. Rama Murty of Parlakhemundi brought these plates to the notice of Dr. Hultzsch. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum. The editor translates the record as follows :—

Om. Hail ! From his victorious residence of Kaliṅganagara, which charming with the delights of all seasons resembles the town of the immortals, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); who meditated on the feet of his parents, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, the *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vajrahastadēva, who is freed from the stains of the Kali age by his obeisance to the two lotus feet of the Holy Gōkarṇasvāmin, parent of the movable and the immovable, the unique architect who has constructed the whole world, the God with the Moon for his crest-jewel who is installed on the spotless summit of Mount Mahēndra; who, by his onslaught in many battles, has aroused the shouts of victory, whose blessed feet are tinged with thick clusters of the lustre of the crest-jewels of all chieftains, bowed down by his prowess, and whose fame is pure like the white water-lily, jasmine, and the moon, and diffused in all quarters then instead of recording some command of the king so described, the inscription in lines 9 to 15 states that—

In the reign of this (Vajrahasta), the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the ornament of spotless family of the Gaṅgas, the regent of five districts, the illustrious Dāraparāja, a dear son of the illustrious Cōla Kāmḍirāja and a home of all excellent qualities, issued the following command to all cultivators or house holders or inhabitants of Laṅkā-kōṇa.

Be it known to you that, on the occasion of giving (our) daughter (to him) in marriage, we have given the village named Hossaṇḍi exempting it from

all taxes, to the ornament of the Naggari Sāluki[1] family the son of the illustrious Erapama-*Rāja*, *Rājaputra* marked with the names of the illustrious Kāmaḍi who has illuminated the quarters of the compass with the banner of the renown which he has gained by his victories in many battles.

Then, it gives an account of the boundaries of the village of Hossaṇḍi which clearly contains the names of fairly a large number of villages, but which, owing partly to my inability to identify all the localities mentioned, I do not fully understand. To the east of Hossaṇḍi was Gulaḍḍa and to the south-east Kurava-Gaḍḍā, apparently two villages. To the south and south-west were a water pond and the triangular boundary line of the villages, Vapavāṭa, Citragummi, and Hossaṇḍi, to the west lay the village Selusilā Gaḍḍi[2] the Paluṅga Hill and two boulders described as Āraṅga-Patthara and Baḍhu-Bhalā-Patthara. On the north-west corner as the Kauraveṇi river and a Duliyā rock as far as the village *Asurāvali*. To the north lay the village Nannuṇi-Chedda, and a rock in the middle of a village, and to the north-east, the village Haṇḍaḍḍa as far as Gulaḍḍa, which must be the Gulaḍḍa previously mentioned. This account of the boundaries is followed in lines 21 to 22, by the statement of the official in-charge Headman (*Pālaka*) of the village, so granted (at the time) was the illustrious Ugrakhēḍirāja, born in the Nidusanti clan, and called the ornament of the spotless family of the Kadambas.

Lines 23 to 26 contain the usual admonition not to interfere with the donation, and cite two of the ordinary imprecatory verses, ascribed to Vyāsa. Line

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[1] It appears to be a corruption of the word Caluky.

[2] This is not a village. I think it is a stream; because the word Gaḍḍi or Gaḍḍā means a stream.

27 records in another verse that the *Ājñāpati* (or *Dūtaka*) to this grant was Vacchapayya of the *Kāyasta* family, a minister of the Dāraparāja and the inscription commands with the statement that it was written by *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Drōṇācārya, and engraved by the artisan Naṅkacya.

The learned editor has not given any description of the four lines incised on the first face of the first plate and another four lines on the reverse of the third plate which have been read by me from the litho-print published along with the plates. According to my reading, the grant was made with the consent of the Rājā and Rāṇi who happened to be a *Visōyi* of the region called Oḍivisā. The Oḍra-prākrit language is used in these lines (not deciphered by the editor) instead of Sanskrit which was used in the main text of the grant.

(41) Chicacole copperplates of Madhukāmārṇava of *G.* [*K*] *E.* 526 from grant made by *Mahārājādhirāja* Srī Madhukāmārṇavadēva, the son of Anantavarmadēva of the Gaṅga dynasty, who was residing in Kaliṅganagara. A village named Pāṭyāpura in Cikhali Pañcāli was the residence of one *Kaliṅga-maṇḍala-pati* Srī Lakshmaṇa-Rāmadēva of Kudāla-vaṁśa, bearing the titles of *Pañchamahā-śavda*, *Timilavara-śōṣaṇa*, and *Pratyanta-bhairava*. He granted a village named Paḍuṇi to a Vaiśya called Yerapanāyaka, Mañcanāyaka's son, who migrated from Dantapura. The said village was converted into a *Vaiśya-agrahāra* including other three villages named Hōṇḍara, Banto and Mōrakhiṇō. The income of the village was 200 *Muraya* and the assessment payable for the village was 150 *Rūpya* (silver coins) per annum. The grant was made in 525 *Gaṅga Kadamba-era* (?) and it was written by Madhu-śūdana, the son of Mādhava, a resident of Kaliṅganagara.

who received 40 *Mūrayas* for writing the document.

The villages named Paḍuṇi and Bantō may be identified with the present Pōḍaṇi and Bantu in the Parlakhemundi taluk of Ganjam District. These two villages are at a distance of about 3 to 4 miles to the north of the Parlakhemundi town. While describing the boundaries of the village, we find the name of one Lubhu-lubhā-gaḍḍā flowing near the granted village. The present hill-stream which is passing through the modern Pōḍaṇi village may be identified with the Lubhu-lubhā-gaḍḍā of the inscription.

The date which is mentioned in this grant should be taken as the *G. K. E.* and not the *G. E.*, although the word 'Kadamba' is missing.

(42) Ponduru plates of Vajrahastadēva. The plates were edited in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Pt. III, p. 23—30 ff. by Manda Narasimham. They were discovered and secured by A. Satyanarayana Mooty Pantulu, Proprietor of the ex-Estate of Nimmalavalasa Estate of Srikakulam District. The inscription was re-edited by G. Ramadas in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, parts 1 and 2, pp. 7—12 ff., with estampages of the plates.

The plates are three in number and attached to a ring containing the royal seal which bears the emblems of a crescent at the top and a bull, an *Aṅkuśa* (elephant goad) and a *Cāmara*. Each plate measures about 9″×4″.

Sri M. Narasimham reads the date which is expressed in numerical symbol as 100. G. Ramadas reads the same as 700 and Dr. D. C. Sircar in one of his papers entitled "The Ponduru grant and the Gaṅga-*era*" (*J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, No. 3. pp. 19—21 ff.) reads the same symbol as 500. While writing a paper on "The Gaṅga-*era*" in *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 29—50, I suggested that the numerical symbol of

the grant was confusing. I hold that view and believe that until and unless a similar numerical symbol comes to our notice together with its numerical value written in words, it is not possible to offer any opinion on the date of this grant. Sri M. Narasimham has correctly identified the following villages, given in this record:—

Villages recorded in the grant	*The corresponding modern names*
1. Rañjumara	Erduva
2. Taṇḍami	Tandemu
3. Muṭṭarila	Mutturu
4. Murrāpāka	Murapāka
5. Paunduru	Ponduru
6. Talaceruvu	Talaceruvu
7. Jandirām	Jandirām
8. Kalvarāi	Kālvaragi
9. Majaṁva	Jāmi
10. Gārā	Gārā (in Srikakulam taluk)
11. Muriṅga	Meriṅgi [1]

The brief substance of the record is that from the city of Dantipura the illustrious king Vajrahastadēva who was a devout worshipper of Mārtandadēva (the Sun), the *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati*, who belonged to the race of Jāhnavī (Gaṅgā) and who was the son of illustrious king Śrī Kāmārṇavadēva of the Gaṅga race and the worshipper at the feet of Gōkarneśvara on the summit of the Mahendra Mountain, proclaimed as follows:—

Be it known to the *kuṭuṁvins* of the village of Taṇḍamisōka an Muṭṭarila in Rañjumara-viṣaya, Ponduru, Talacēruva, Chirelamu, Gāra, Jandirām in Murrapāka viṣaya, Barāvatanta in Barakaṭṭa viṣaya, that a hero

[1] Sri M. Narasimham has not correctly identfied this village.

named Bali Nāyaka who is a great warrior and killed the enemies at the instruction of his master, who is holding powerful weapons including a sword and returned from battle-field, who is sympathetic for his own caste people, is granted all these villages (names of the above mentioned villages are repeated here) for his meritorious deed and achievements. He (Bali Nāyaka) belonged to the race of Kalvapa (?). A portion of the grant will go to his son whose name is Gaṇḍa.

Then, the boundaries of the villages are given from which we get the names of some mountains and villages.

Then follow three benedictory and imprecatory verses quoted from the *Vyāsa Gitā.*

The record is engraved in the *G. E.* Satō 100 (?) of the prosperous year of the Gaṅgas, on Sunday in the month of Āṣāḍha.

It is written by the *Sandhivigrahika* Sāmapuna and engraved by the Akṣhśālin Khānijuna.

(43) The Chipurupalli copperplate grant of Anantavarman *Mahārājādhirāja* Vajrahastadēva, the son of Bhūpēndravarman of *G. E.* 383, edited by me in *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXV, parts 1 and 2, pp. 10—26 ff. It was discovered from a village named Chipurupalli, which is about 16 miles to the east of Parlakhemundi town in Ganjam District and about 9 miles to the north-west of Palasa Railway Station on the main line of the S. E. Rly. The plates were brought to my notice in 1947 and they were acquired by Sri P. K. Deo, (now M. P.), the Mahārāja of Kalāhāṇḍi, who allowed me to edit them.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Jadyāla in favour of one Nārāyaṇa, by Sri Anantavarman *alias Mahārājādhirāja* Sri Vajrahastadēva,

the son of *Mahārāja* Bhūpēndravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty. The grant is issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara in the month of Phālguna, in the year *G. E.* 383, and it is announced by one Sarvadēva.

It is, however, an important document relating to the chronology of the early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and their family *era*. From the Chidivalasa plates (No. 48), we learn that Dēvēndravarman's (*G. E.* 397) father was Bhūpēndravarman-Mārasiṁha and his grandfather was Vajjrī, an abbreviated form of Vajrahasta. From the present grant, we understand that Bhūpēndravarman's son was Anantavarman *alias* Vajrahasta, who lived in the *G. E.* 383. Bhūpēndravarman had another son called Dēvēndravarman, who was ruling Kalinga in *G. E.* 397. Therefore, it follows that Bhūpēndra-varman-Mārasiṁha had two sons, namely, Ananta-varman Vajrahasta and Dēvēndravarman, who ascended the throne one after the other.

Only in two plates in the genealogical tables of Vajrahasta (V) and Chodagaṅga (vide table No. II of Chapter VI) we find that a Vajrahasta is shown as the grandson of another Vajrahasta. The first Vajrahasta ruled from A. D. 980—1016 and the second from A. D. 1038—70. One of them must be regarded as the donor of the plates under review, when the Kadamba-chieftain, Ugrakhēdi lived, and when the 383rd year of the *G. E.* was current, provided the early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga (beginning from Indravarman and Hastivarman down to Anantavarman Vajrahasta and Dēvēndravarman) are to be accommodated in the genealogical tables found in the copperplate inscriptions of Vajrahasta, namely, Ganjam plates (*E.I.* XXIII, p. 70 ff.) Nadagam plates (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 183), Narasapatam plates (*Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 149), Bodapadu plates (The *Bhārati*, Telugu Journal, Madras, Vol. III, pp. 82—94 ff.),

Cikkavalas plates (*Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 138—155 ff.), Srikakulam plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 163), Madras Museum plates (*E. I.* IX, p. 96), Peddabammidi plates (*Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 305 ff.) and Arsavalli (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 310) in the district of Ganjam and Srikakulam.

With regard to the genealogical table given by the Government Epigraphist according to the inscription No. 28, I discussed about the correctness of his table and wrote : "the Government Epigraphist endeavoured to give a correct genealogy of the Gaṅgas from Guṇārṇava onwards". As there are some discrepancies found in the above genealogy, I request my readers to refer to the table No. II which is prepared on the base of nearly 40 copperplate inscriptions. According to our table (vide Chapter VI.), twenty-one Gaṅga kings ruled over Kaliṅga between *G. E.* 39—397, *i. e.*, 358 years, each covering a period of 17 years in average.

The errors of the Government Epigraphist seem to have been due to the mistakes committed by the engraver in the inscription of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 51 who has wrongly adopted this date instead of 351. So also, the author of the inscription of Dēvēndravarman has wrongly put its date as *G. E.* 254 for *G. E.* 354, which I have pointed out elsewhere.

Dr. Fleet, while editing the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman, made an attempt to correct the errors committed by the engraver, who put its date as *Ekapañchāsat*, *i. e.*, 51. He suggested that "the date of this grant must be 251 *G. E.*" But actually, the mistake would have been corrected as 351 *G. E.* inasmuch as the name of Sarvadēva, who was an officer under the Gaṅgas, is mentioned in this grant while the same officer's name

is also recorded in the Chidivalasa grant of 397 *G. E.*, and in the Chipurupalli plates of 383 *G. E.*, (vide Nos. 48 and 43). He served under the Gaṅgas for at least 47 years. As Dr. Fleet, who had no opportunity to verify the name of Sarvadeva, since the last two grants were not brought to light when he edited the Chicacole plates to deduce his conclusion, could not escape of the error. After Fleet, the mistake was not rectified till the present day, although several scholars have dealt with the question.

Again similar mistake is also noticed regarding the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman, whose date is put as "*Sata-Dvayē-Catuspañchāśadadhikē*" *i. e.*, 254. Dr. Fleet's reading is no doubt correct, but it appears that the writer of the inscription committed a mistake. Instead of *Śata-trayē* he inscribed *Śata-dvayē* which enshrouded the Gaṅga chronology with great confusion. Dharmakhēḍi, the well-known Kadamba-chieftain of Kaliṅga, appears in this grant as the maternal uncle of Anantavarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman. The Mandasa plates of Dharmakhēḍi of Śaka 900+*Sapta-rasa* (which is not yet correctly interpreted) mention the name of the same King Anantavarman, the overlord of the Kadambas. The Siṁhapura plates of Dharmakhēḍi mention the name of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman, in the *G. K. E.* 520. Again, in Nirakarpura plates (Vide No. 45) we find that Dharmakhēḍi's grandson, Udayakhēḍi, was living in the time of Bhūpēndravarman's son Dēvēndravarman, who according to the Chidivalasa plates, was living in 397 *G. E.* From the trend of these records, it is not very difficult to infer that Dharmakhēḍi was living in the 354th year of the *Gaṅga-era* and not in 254 *G. E.*, as is believed by scholars. The correct enealogy of

the Eastern Gaṅgas, therefore, should be as given in our table No. II in chapter VI.

(44) The Andhavaram plates of Vajrahasta, edited by R. Subrahamanyam of Guntur in *E. I.* XXXI, pp. 202—204 ff. The plates were discovered from the village of Andhavaram in Narasannapeta taluk of Srikakulam District. The history of discovery of these plates are same as in Nos. 12 and 13 above. Each set consists of three copperplates attached to a copper-ring which bears the usual Gaṅga seal and the emblem of a couchant bull, a crescent, a conch and a full-blown lotus. All the engraved faces of the plates have been scraped, leaving marks probably with the motive of making the inscriptions illegible.

This inscription records a grant made by *Mahārāja-dhirāja* Vajrahastadēva of the race of the glorious Surasarit (Gaṅgā) while he was residing in the city of Dantipura. A village called Goṣṭhavāḍa in the district of Krōṣṭrukavarttani was granted to one Śrī Maḍapabhimana of Ve(mma)-Kula (family) who was a *daṇḍanāyaka* (general) and worshipper of *dēva*, *dvija* and *guru*.

The village of Goṣṭhavāḍa may be identified with the modern village of Gōṭṭā near Avaliṅgi in the Pātapāṭam taluk of the old Parlakhemundi Zamindary.

The inscription gives no date.

(45) The Nirakarpur copperplate grant of Udaya-khēḍi of Kadamba dynasty, published by me in the *J. B. R. S.* (1949), Vol. XXXV, parts 1 & 2, pp. 1—27 ff. Pandit Sadasiva Ratha of Puri sent the plates to me in the month of June, 1947, for examination. I deciphered the inscription with the help of the original plates. The plates were discovered from the village of Nirakarapur in the Puri District and they were preserved with one Ramakrishna Bhagat of Puri whose father was the

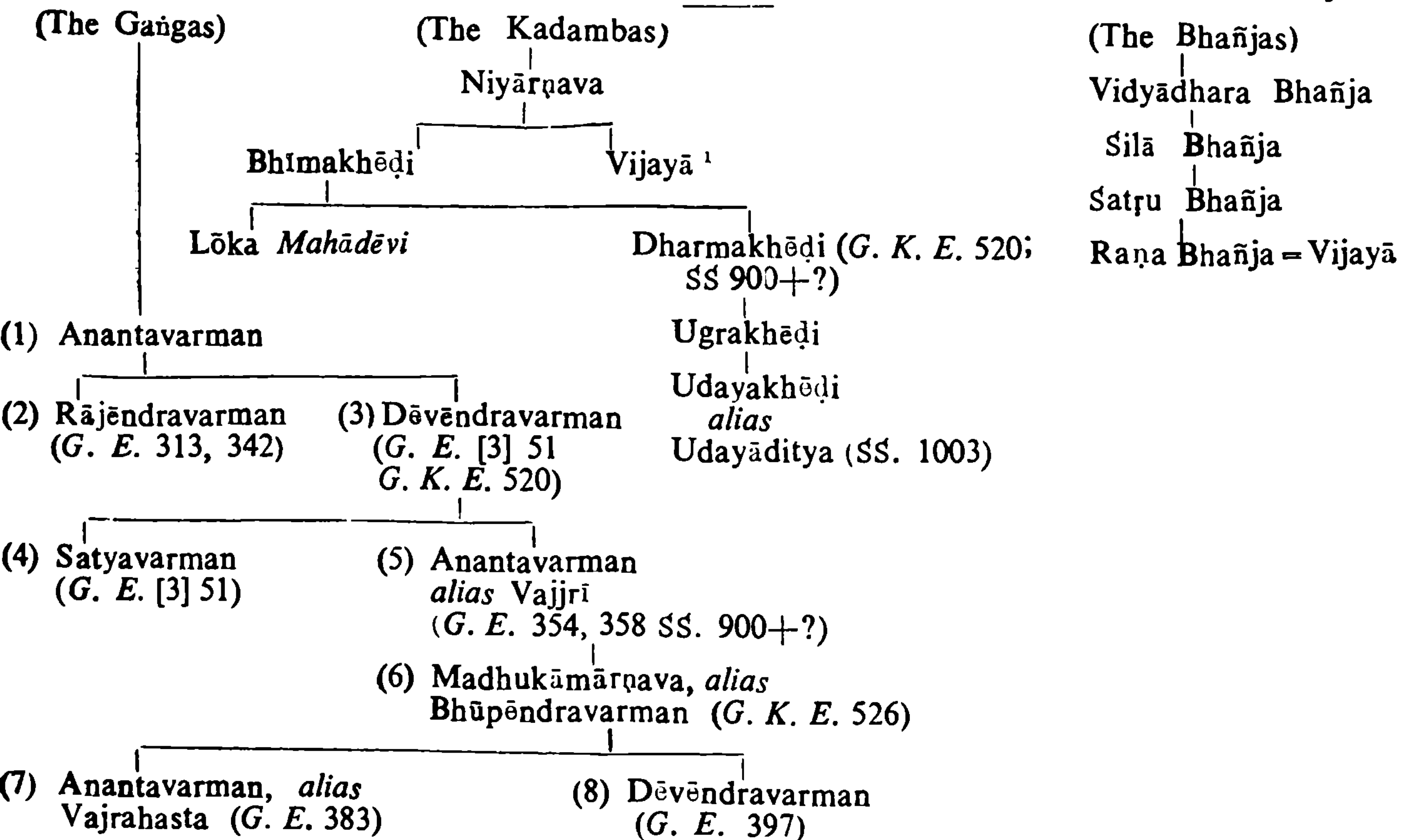
owner. The text was translated by me as follows:—

"Om. Hail. From the victorious residence of Kaliṅganagara which resembles the city of immortals, a charming and delightful place of all seasons, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara who adores the feet of his mother and father, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, Śrī Dēvēndravarman, the son of Bhūpēndravarman, who is freed from the stains of the Kali-age by his obeisance to the two lotus feet of the moon-decorated head of the god, Gōkarṇasvāmin, who lived on the fair summit of the Mahēndra Mountain, the sole creator of the movable and immovable, the constructor of the whole universe, who, by his onslaught in many battles had roused the shouts of victory for which sake his blessed feet became radiant with thick clusters of lustrous diadems of all the chieftains while bowing down at his feet and whose fame is as bright as the water-lily, Jasmine, the moon, and is diffused in all quarters, acquired the whole kingdom of Kaliṅga by his own sword. (Here the inscription records that) having migrated from the residence of Rāyā Baṇarāyi, the ornament of the dynasty derived from the Kadamba Vaṁśa, the offspring of Mahāraṭajadēva, the holder of five great sounds (son of Ugrakhēḍi who was the son of Dharmakhēḍi), Śrī Udayakhēḍi being present in his kingdom, granted, by issuing these copperplates to the *Barāha* (?) Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras*, on the auspicious occasion of the Viṣuva-saṅkrānti, the village of Pagaḍākhēḍō in the district of Narendra-bhōga. Then, follows the names of shares of grants of the donees. The record was inscribed by the goldsmith *Pōmāṇēka* Hastirāja, the son of Vāyu Ādityabānta.

The donor of this grant is one Udayakhēḍi who was the son of Ugrakhēḍi and grandson of Dharma-khēḍi, an offspring of Mahāraṭajadēva of the Kadamba

family, who migrated from a place called Rāya Baṇarāyi. Udayakhēḍi was a chieftain under the King, Dēvēndra-varman, the son of Bhūpēndravarman of Kaliṅga. We are already in possession of two copperplate inscriptions of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Bhūpēndravarman (vide Nos. 45, 46 and 48), one of which was granted in *G. E.* 397. The Kambakaya plates of Udayāditya, successor of Dharmakhēḍi, was issued in the time of Dēvēndravarman in Śaka year 1003 (vide No. 50). Again, in the Parlakhemundi grant of Vajrahasta, we meet with the names of Ugrakhēḍi and Udayakhēḍi (vide No. 40). So, it is quite probable that Udayakhēḍi and his overlord, Dēvēndravarman, whose names are mentioned in this grant, are the same as mentioned in the above plates. It proves that Udayakhēḍi *alias* Udayāditya was living in the time of Vajrahasta as well as Dēvēndravarman. Udayakhēḍi's relationship with Dharmakhēḍi is also known from this grant. Now, the genealogy of the Kadambas of Kaliṅga stands thus synchronised with that of the Gaṅgas on one side and the Bhañjas on the other, as illustrated in the table, produced in the next page:—

Table showing synchronous relation among the Gaṅgas, the Kadambas and the Bhañjas :



[1] For the copperplate inscription of Vijayā, the queen of Raṇabhañja and daughter of Niyārṇava *see* the *Rep. Arch. Survey of Ind.* (*Eastern Circle*), 1916-17, P. 4 ff.

N. B.—The officers appointed in the Gaṅga Court are (1) Sāmirāja's son Raṇāmēya, who was a contemporary of Nos. 2, 4 & 6; and Sarvadēva who was contemporary of Nos. 7 & 8.

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Scholars are under the impression that the Kadambas of Kaliṅga migrated either from the regions of Bombay or Banavāsi in Mysore. These Kadambas and the Gaṅgas established close relationship with each other, politically and matrimonially. That tie between them is not only found in Kaliṅga country but also in Mysore. Some historical events reveal that the kings of the Kadambas of Kaliṅga and those of Banavāsi were originally sprang from one parental group of Kṣatriyas, who at first lived in a place called Gaṅgavāḍi wherefrom they spread to different parts of the country in course of time. Whether they moved from the north to the south or *vice-versa* is a matter of interest in the history of the lands of the Oriyas and the Kannaḍiyas. The present grant flashes some lime light on this problem by mentioning the original homeland of the Kadambas of Kaliṅga as Rāya Baṇarāyi which, we believe, is the modern Boṇāi of Orissa. The ex-ruler of this state (Boṇāi) belongs to the Kadamba family.

With regard to the origin of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, Mr. G. M. Moraes thinks that the founder of the Kadamba kingdom was a Brāhmaṇa who received his education in Kāñchīpuram under the Pallavas and revolted against them in A. D. 345. His successors established their capital at Vanavāsi, an ancient city in the north Kanara district, close to the Mysore border. Politically, the dynasty appears to be an outpost of Gupta affiliations against Pallava aggression. With the decline of the Guptas, the Kadambas were also overthrown by their quondam feudatories, the Cālukyas, about A. D. 610.

For nearly 350 years, the Kadambas vanished from history. Then, about A. D. 973, with the overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the revival of Cālukyan supremacy in the Western Deccan, a number of

feudatory principalities arose, claiming to be of Kadamba lineage. This Kadamba tradition survived the fall of the Cālukyas and persisted rather vaguely till the rise of Vijainagram (vide The *Kadamba-Kula* By G. E. Moraes).

It is no less important to have a comparative study of the relations between the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Western Gaṅgas of Mysore. From their inscriptions, we learn that both the branches used some common names in their records, viz., 1. Gaṅgavaṁśa (dynasty), 2. Gaṅgavāḍi (country), 3. Kolāulā or Kōlāhalapura (town), 4. Gōkarṇēsvara (family-deity), 5. Nandagirinātha (deity). So, there is a coincidence in the names of their places and also their deities. It supports their collateral integration. The following passage may be cited from the Habbal inscription of Mārasiṁhadēva of the Western Gaṅga family from lines 3—5:—

Svasti [1] Satyavāka = Kōṅguṇivarmma = Dharmma-mahārājādhirāja = Kōlālapuravarēśvara = Nandagiri-nātha-[Śrī]mat Pērmmānaḍi = Vūtayyaṅgē......[1]

I request my readers to compare the above passage with the following *Praśasti*, quoted from an inscription of the Gaṅgas of the Svētaka branch of Kaliṅga:—

Sva - bhuja - bala--Parākramākrānta - sakala-Kaliṅgādhirājyaḥ, Paramamāhēśvara, mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyātō, Gaṅgāmala-kula-tilakaḥ, Śrī Nandagiri-nāthaḥ, Kōkalāvala-pura = paṭṭaṇa-vinirgata, Kāmvalya-varaya-ghōṣa—Mahārājādhirāja—paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka—Śrī Indra-varmmadēvaḥ...... (Vide *I.*, *O.*, Vol. II, p. 298 ff.)

The phraseological terms, such as "*Kōlāhalapura-varēśvara Nandagirināthaṃ*"[2] in the former inscription,

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[1] *E. I.* IV, p. 352 f.

[2] The appellation *Nātha* in this name tempts me to look for it the list of the Jaina-gurus, as the Mysore Gaṅgas happened to be the followers of Jainism and their first *guru* was Simhanandi. Thus, the god Nandagiri-nātha might belonged to the Jaina panthian.

and *S'ri-Nandagirinātha-Kōlāhalapurapāṭṭaṇā*" in the later are significant and they suggest the collateral contact of both the lines.

It might be that originally they belonged to one homogeneous and cognate stock of Kṣatriyas, who, like the other ruling races of the Deccan, migrated from the north, as we have pointed out before. In the course of their movement to the south, a branch halted in Kaliṅga while another branch proceeded still further till it reached at its destination in the far south. It is believed that at first, they became the rulers of a place which they named as Gaṅgavāḍi or the homeland of the Gaṅgas, and the town wherefrom they started the administration was called Kōlāhalapura, the city of commotion. Hence the same topographical nomenclature was adopted for their newly acquired lands which inference seems quite plausible. Where is the Kōlāhalapura (or Kōlāulā in its Prakrit form) that was located in Kaliṅga ? There are two places in the district of Ganjam to which we attribute the glory of being the administrative capital of the Svētaka Gaṅgas. One is Kulāḍa, a village in the Gumsur taluk which was also the capital town of the Bhañja kiṅgs for a long period.[1] This place is believed to have been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta in the 4th century A. D. as Kurāla. Since there is the system of interchange of letters between *Ḍa*, *Ra*, and *La* in Sanskrit, the word Kurāla might have been changed into Kulāḍa. But, so far as the identification of Kōlāulā is concerned, we are inclined to point out a village called Kōlāulā situated on the borders of the Ex-Zamindary of Sānakhemuṇḍi

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[1] *E. I.* XIX, pp. 41—45 ff.

and Baḍakhemuṇḍi of Ganjam where many copper-plate inscriptions and antiquities have been discovered.[1]

(46) Sāntābomāli copperplates or the Nāpitavātaka grant of Bhūpēndravarman's son, Dēvēndravarman. It gives no date. The plates were published by L. N. Harichandan Jagadeva of Tekkali in the *Sahakāra* (an Oriya Journal), Vol. XVIII, part 5, p. 392 f). A village named Nāpitavātaka in the district of Koluvarttani, was granted on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa, in favour of the Brāhmaṇas Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Mādhava Bhaṭṭa of Kāmukāyana *gōtra* and Bahṛicasa *Śākhā*, who were well-versed in the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*. No further details have been mentioned in this record.

(47) The Gālavalli plates of Manujēndravarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 393.

It is edited by N. Ramesan in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 161—70 ff. and re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *E. I.* XXXI, pp. 188-91 ff.

This is a set of three plates attached to a copper-ring containing the royal seal (a lying bull, the sun, the moon, an *aṅkuśa* and a *cāmara*), were discovered along with another set of plates which belonged to Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja of Śaka 998 (1076 A. D.). These two sets of copperplate inscriptions were unearthed from the village of Gālavalli in the Babbili taluk of Srikakulam district. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$.

This inscription records that from the city of Kaliṅganagara *Mahārāja* Manujēndravarman, the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvēndravarman, granted three villages named Nuṅkapāṭaka and Baḍabaḍā in Gālela *viṣaya* and Cintaceḍu in Hōṁva *viṣaya*, in favour of the god Kuṇḍuka Guṇḍēśvara. Most probably, the god

[1] There is also a village called Kurla, situated at a distance of about six miles to the north-east of Buguḍa in Ganjam District.

Guṇḍēśvara was installed in a village called Kuṇḍaka. The gift was received by one *Sāmavēda Bhagavanta* on behalf of the deity, and he was the son of *Brahmātman-bhagavanta* of Vallakōṇḍa (or Callakōṇḍa).

The document was written by Chīḍapa, the son of the *Kāyastha* Khaṇḍyama who was designated as the *rahasya*, and the grant was made in the 393rd year of the auspicious year of the Gaṅga dynasty.

(48) Ciḍivalasa copperplates of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Bhūpēndravarman of *G. E.* 397. The plates were discovered from Ciḍivalasa a village in Chicacole taluk, and they are edited by R. Subbarao in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 146—164 ff. This is the last known copper-plate grant of this dynasty, where the *G. E.* 397 is mentioned. Some scholars are inclined to say that the Simhapura plates of Dharmakhēḍi of *G. K. E.* 520 and the Chicacole plates of Madhukāmārṇava of the same *era* 526 as the genuine *era* of the Gaṅgas, which is not correct. We have discussed this in the Appendix to prove how both the *eras*, *viz.*, *G. E.* and *G. K. E.*[1] are different from each other.

Three generations of the Gaṅgas are mentioned in this record namely, (1) Vajrī, (2) his son Mārasiṁha Bhūpēndravarman, (3) and his son Dēvēndravarman. The form of the *Praśasti*, referring to three continuous generations, is quite unusual while comparing with the other records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.

The *Kuṭumbins* of the village of Kandalivāḍa in Kōlupattana were ordered that in order to increase the merit of the donor's parents and the donor himself; the village called Siviḍi was granted to Ādityabhaṭṭa, Yajñabhaṭṭa, Khaṇḍidevabhaṭṭa and others, who belong to Gōjādīkṣita family of Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Angīrasa-

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[1] *G. E.*—Gaṅga *Era*.
G. K. E.—Gaṅga-Kadamba *Era*.

Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja *Pravara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse making the grant free from all burdens of assessment. The charter was written by Mādhava and Sarvadēva and examined by Śrīdharabhaṭṭa and Yajñabhaṭṭa.

(49) The Madagrāma grant of *Rāṇaka*-Bhīmakhēḍi of the time of Dēvēndravarman of Śaka 988.

This set of copperplate inscription was secured by a Tahasildar of Srikakulam in Andhra-Pradesh from Sri Manda Narasimham who has also edited a few other inscriptions.

This set consists of three copperplates each measuring 7·8″×3·6″. They are strung on a copper-ring containing the Kadamba-seal with an emblem of a fish, flanked by an *aṅkuśa* on one side and a crescent of the moon on the other. This inscription was edited by R. C. Majumdar in *E. I.*, XXXI, pp. 45—52 ff.

It records the grant of a village called Madagrāma in Bhilliṅgabōga *viṣaya* [1] by the *Māṇḍalika-Rāṇaka*-Bhīmakhēḍi, the son of *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Dharmakhēḍi of the Kadamba dynasty who was living under the Gaṅga King Dēvēndravarman. The grant is issued in favour of one Viṭhana Reuchiyā Nāyaka, the son of Prōllama in *Śakāvdānā-śata-aṣṭāśiti* or 988 which corresponds to A. D. 1066.

It is a very important record for its date which is written in words as *'Śakāvda-nas(ś)ata-aṣ[ṭ]āsīti samvartu'* [2] or 988 Śakāvda.

[1] This *viṣaya* is mentioned in the Bāraṅga plates of Umavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty of Kaliṅga (vide *Ins.*, *Or.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 75 ff.)

[2] It should be read as "nava-śata-aṣṭāśiti saṃvatsarē". V. V. Mirashi differs from this reading. He is not prepared to take '*na*' as '*nava*' (vide *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 122 ff.). We are not able to accept his view. The learned editor (R. C. Majumdar) had rightly replied to his motivated criticism (vide *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 261—64 ff.)

(50) Kāmbakāyā-copperplate inscription of Udayāditya of the time of Dēvēndravarman of ŚŚ 1003, edited by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma in '*the Bhārati*' (Telugu Journal, Madras), November, 1927. With the help of the litho-print of this inscription, I read the date of the grant as "*Śakābda-Sahasramēka-Śata(ē)trayādhikē, Dantipurēsthithō*". Some scholars have also given different interpretations to this date, which we have already discussed in the previous chapter. It has been taken as Śaka 1003 for the reason that the donor Udayakhēḍi's grandfather, Dharmakhēḍi, was living, according to his Mandasa plates, in Śaka 987 which was also subject to different opinions. According to this grant, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Udayāditya is the son of Dharmakhēḍi. But, according to the Nirākārapur plates (No. 45), he is the grandson of Dharmakhēḍi and the son of Ugrakhēḍi. In the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta, we find also the names of Ugrakhēḍi and Udayakhēḍi. Ugrakhēḍi should, therefore, be taken as the grandson of Dharmakhēḍi. It is not improbable that Ugrakhēḍi died during the life time of Dharmakhēḍi, and Udayakhēḍi succeeded the latter; and for this reason, the '*Praśasti*' writer mentioned him as the successor or the son of Dharmakhēḍi.

The Kāmbakāyā plates (No. 50) record that Udayāditya was a subordinate king under Dēvēndravarman who lived in Dantapura. He is also identical with Dēvēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman, mentioned in the Simhapura plates of the time of Dharmakhēḍi (*G. K. E.* 520) (No. 35).

The village named Rēvēṇiji was granted to the Brāhmaṇas named Rēvaṇa Nāyaka's son, Nārāyaṇa Nāyaka, and Āditaya Sōmayya.

(51) Nārāyaṇadēva temple inscription of Gārā of Śakāvda 1005.

Gārā is a village near Srikurmam in the Srikakulam District. This inscription records the gift of 50 cows, issued by one Peddallūru Gōkarṇa Nāyaka, on the day of Uttarāyaṇa (*Saṁkrānti*) in order to burn a lamp before the god Nārāyaṇadēva in the month of Dhanus when the 7th regnal year of Dēvēndravarman was current. The Śaka year is given in it as follows " Śara-sūr [yya]-raśmi." It is equal to Śaka 1005.

This Dēvēndravarman, living in ŚS 1005, still remains an unidentified King of Kaliṅga.

(52) The stone inscription in the Rāmacaṇḍi Temple of Tekkali of Dēvēndravarman, dated in Śaka 1012 and in the regnal year 23rd Jyēṣṭa-Kṛiṣṇa-Pañcamī. It was examined by me. It records that a village named Vijayapalli was granted to a sage in *Sanyāsa-tīrtha* by the Gaṅga King, Dēvēndravarman, in his 23rd regnal year which corresponds to 1012 Śakābda or A. D. 1090. After No. 51, it is the second stone inscription where the name of an Eastern Gaṅga King of Kaliṅga is mentioned. Most probably, he is Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, the father of Anantavarmā Chōḍagaṅgadēva.

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CHAPTER V

[Epigraphical Records of the Gangas of Svetaka]

APART from the main line of Kaliṅganagara, some collateral branches of the Gaṅgas were ruling over different parts of Kaliṅga. They established their own capitals from which places they issued their charters in favour of Brāhmaṇas and deities. One of the branches was ruling from the city of Svētaka which was within the precincts of the Ex-Zamindaries of Baḍakhemuṇḍi, Sānakhemuṇḍi and Cikaṭi in the modern district of Ganjam. Only fifteen copperplate inscriptions have so far been discovered revealing their rule. We get a panal of names of the Gaṅgas of Svētaka from their records. These kings used a different type of '*Praśasti*' in ther inscriptions, although they used to worship the same god Gōkarṇaśvāmin of the Mahēndra Mountain like the Kaliṅganagara branch. Their *Praśasti* runs as follows :—

"Ōṃ. Svasti [||] Svētak-ādhiṣṭhānād = bhagavataś = carācaragurōḥ—sakala—Śaśāṅkaśēkharadharasya sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr = Mahēndrā-cala-śikhara-nivāsinaḥ-śrīmad-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya caraṇa-kamal = ārādhanāvāpta-puṇya-nicayaḥ śaktitraya-prakarṣā-nurañjit = āśēṣa-sāmanta-cakra sva-bhuja-bala-parākram = ākrānta-sakala-Kaliṅgādhirājyaḥ-parama- māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyātaḥ Gaṅg = āmala-kula-tilakaḥ..............."

(53) Pālajhāḍi plates of *Rāṇaka* Jayavarmadēva of *G. E.* 100.

In 1934, this set of plates was discovered by a cultivator of the village of Pālajhāḍi in the Ex-zamindary of Baḍakhemunḍi in the Ganjam District. While digging the earth, he found a big earthen pot

containing six sets of copperplate inscriptions which he kept with great care in his house. In 1934, a Congress worker of that locality informed me about the discovery where upon I went to the spot and acquired the plates by payment of money to the owner. The Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, contacted me for acquiring these inscriptions for the Indian Museum and this was done. Our present inscription is one of the six sets discovered from that place and it was edited by S. N. Chakravarti in *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 267—69 ff. The plates are three in number, each measuring 6″ ×3″. They are attached to a copper-ring containing the seal with the emblem of a lying bull.

A Gaṅga king, named *Rāṇaka* Śrī Jayavarmadēva, granted a village called Paḍālaśṛṅga in the district of Khaṇḍagakhaṇḍa *viṣaya* with a neighbouring village of Tevūra-grāma in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Padma Mahāpātra who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and Pañcaṛiṣi *Pravara* of the Kāṇva *śākhā*. The grant was made on the occasion of Viṣuva Saṁkrānti. The document was written by Vimalacandra and sealed by Trikaliṅga Mahādevī in the *G. E.* 100.

(54) Baḍakhemuṇḍi plates of Jayavarmadeva.

The history of the discovery of these plates is the same as that of the previous one, as it is also one of the six sets of inscriptions found in the same village of Pālajhāḍi. The set consists of three copper-plates, hinged on a copper-ring which bears the royal seal with the usual Gaṅga-emblem of a lying bull. Each plate measures 4″×3⅛″. This set of copper-plate inscription was edited by Sri S. N. Chakravarti of Calcutta in *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 361—63 ff.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Bhuṣuṇḍā in the district of Aṇḍadāsṛṅga *viṣaya* in favour of a brāhmaṇa named Śivaśarman of Kāśyapa *gōtra* and *Vājasanēya Caraṇa*, on the occasion of installation of the god Guṇeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka. It is granted bv the *Mahārāja* Jayavarman who belonged to the glorious family of the Gaṅgas and who lived in the city of Svētaka. The document is written by one *Mahāsandhivigrahin-Śrisāmanta's* son Khaṇḍa and engraved by Śrī Vicitrahasta who is a *vyavahārin* and also a *pratihārin.*

The village Bhuṣuṇḍā of this inscription may be identified with a village of the same name, situated in the Baḍakhemuṇḍi taluk of the Ganjam district.

It should be noted here that Jayavarman who is entitled as *Rāṇaka* in No. 53 above, might have been promoted to the status of *Mahārāja* in some subsequent period by his overlord whose name is not recorded in the inscription.

(55) Kamānalināksapur plates of Jayavarman.

This grant is one of the two sets found at the foot of a hill called Patharpāri near the village of Kamānalināksapur in the district of Ganjam. The plates were acquired for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in 1958.

The set consists of three plates attached to a ring containing the royal seal with the emblem of a bull, standing on a full-blown lotus flower. The diametre of the ring is about 1·8″ and the shape of the seal is oval. Each plate measures about 4·6″×2·5″.

The grant was edited by me in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 83—86 ff.

The purport of the grant is given below:—

Ll.1—11 Om. Hail ! From the victorious (city of) Svētaka, *Mahārāja* Jayavarmadēva, who is a devout

worshipper at the feet of mother and father; who is a *Paramamāhēśvara*; who has controlled a large number of feudatory chiefs with the help of threefold power (and) possessed of all the Trikaliṅga country by the valour of his own arms; who is shining like the moon in the clean sky of the Gaṅga family; who has obtained all the merits by worshipping at the sacred feet of the (god) Gōkarṇasvāmin, the lord of the universe (who) lived on the top of the Mahēndra Mountain; is well.

Ll. 11-12. It is declared before the inhabitants of Bhāsaṇḍā village,[1] situated in Sāmanta Bhukti (district) that the land named Svālpa-Kālañjara-Khaṇḍa-Kṣētra[2] which is demarcated to the east by a lake (*sara*) and to the south by Skandaśarma's Cheda (lands), (within these boundaries the land extending ten '*Murayas*' is ganted with libations of water by us to Viṣṇuśarman of Gautama *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *Caraṇa*, to be continued as long as the moon and the sun would exist, for the increase of the merit of our mother, father and relatives. Being known this (order), none should cause any kind of obstruction to it. [Then three verses from the *Vyāsa-gitā* are quoted.]

It is written by S(u)bhabandin and engraved by Charaṁpadēva.

(56) Baḍakhemuṇḍi plates of Jayavarmadēva of the time of Unmattakēśarī of *Saṁvat* 50.

King Jayavarmadēva has issued this charter in the *Saṁvat* year 50, Vaiśākha Su-Di. 3. In this record

[1] In the Baḍakhemuṇḍi plates of Jayavarman, a village called Bhūṣuṇḍā, situated in Aṇḍadāśṛṅga *Viśaya*, is granted to Raviśarman of Kāśyapa (*gōtra*) (*E. I.* XXIII, p. 361). But, in this grant Bhāsaṇḍā village is in Sāmanta Bhukti. In the Baḍakhemuṇḍi taluk of Ganjam district there is a village named Bhāsuṇḍā (vide *Survey of India Map* sheet No. 74-A 11) which may be identified with Bhāsuṇḍā of the inscription.

[2] The word '*Svalpa*' seems to be a prefix in the name of some villages in Svētaka country. Another village called Svalpavēlura is mentioned in Anantavarma's grant (*E. I.*, XXIVm O. 129.) (*See* No. 58)

the donor purchased a village named Kalaśaśriṅga in Varttinī *viṣaya*, situated in Kōṅgada Maṇḍala, under the rulership of another powerful king named Unmattakēśarī. So, he sent a mediator named *Rāṇaka* Śrī Viṣavārṇva who obtained permission from Unmattakēśarī, a king of the Bhaumakara dynasty of Toṣalī, who was residing at Virajā (the modern Jajpur in Cuttack district). After obtaining a formal permission from Unmattakēśarī, he granted this village on the occasion of a solar eclipse to a Brahmaṇa named Śrī Nannaṭa *Mahattara* who belonged to Vājasanēya *Caraṇa*, Kāṇva *śākhā* and Vatsa *gōtra*, in the month of Phālguna when there was a solar eclipse. The name Nannaṭa (of the donee) tempts us to identify him with the Nannaṭa, mentioned in one of the stone inscriptions of Khandagiri caves at Bhubaneswar. He lived as a *Bhiṣak* (doctor) in the time of a Bhauma king named Śāntikara. Probably, the same Nannaṭa again appears as Bhaṭṭa Nannaṭaśarman of Vatsa *gōtra* and Vājasaneya *Caraṇa* in No. 58 below.

From the above three records, it is presumed that Jayavarman, who was at first merely a *Rāṇaka* or a subordinate chief under another powerful king of Kaliṅga, must have possessed more power in some later period of his reign for the reason that he designated himself as *Mahārāja* in the subsequent records. This grant is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, and edited by Pandit Vinayaka Misra in *I. H. O.*, Vol. XII, pp. 489—93 ff. The set consists of three copperplates, each measuring 7″×3½″. They are attached to a copper-ring bearing the royal seal which is not legible.

This record is written by *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Śrī Pollabhaṇḍāra and engraved by one Bhogarti and

enshrined by the queen Śrīpṛithvī *Mahādēvi*, in *Saṁvat* 50, Vaiśākha Su. di. 3.

Rāṇaka Viṣavārṇava is supposed to be the same king whose name is recorded in the *Praśasti* as Jayavarmadēva of Svētaka. He was allowed by Unmattakēśarī from Virajā to use his *Praśasti* as he (Unmattakēśarī) did not like to record his own *Praśasti* on the copperplate; and thus, he ordered Jayavarma *alias Rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava or through a subordinate king named Viṣavārṇava, to record the grant of a village called Balamasṛiṅga of Varttanī *viṣaya* in the province of Kōṅgada-maṇḍala, in favour of Nannaṭa *Mahattara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred in the month of Phālguna in the 50th *Saṁvat* (which is presumably the *Saṁvat* generally used by the Bhauma-kara Kings and which started in 736-737 A. D.).[1] The title 'Arṇava' was only used by some Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga. The inscription records the *Praśasti* of Jayavarmadēva of the Gaṅga family of the Svētaka-line and the grant was made in Kōṅgada-maṇḍala which was under the Bhauma-karas, whose capital was at Virajā Nagara. These facts lead to the conclusion that the Gaṅgas of Svētaka acknowledged the supremacy of the Bhauma-karas of Virajā.

(57) Badakhemundi plates of the time of Bhūpendra-varman.

The history of discovery of this set of copper-plates is the same as that of No. 53 above. The plates were edited by Sri S. N. Chakravarti of Calcuttta in *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 265—267 ff. under the heading 'C'.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 5″×2·7/8″. They are held by a ring on which

[1] For the Bhauma *era*, see my paper in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 100—108 ff.

we find a royal-seal containing the figure of a lying-bull, as is usually found in other Gaṅga-plates.

It is interesting to note here that the donor of the grant is one *Rāṇaka* Gaṅgakavilāsa, whose son is *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūpēndravarman. Most probably, Bhūpēndra, the son of Gaṅgakavilāsa, was adopted by a King of Svētaka who died before this grant was issued. It is not known why Bhūpēndravarman, instead of using the name of his adopted father or the King of Svētaka, mentioned the name of his real father who was after all a '*Rāṇaka*'.

Sri S. N. Chakravarti gives a purport of the grant as quoted below:—

"The inscription is of the time of the *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Srī Bhūpēndravarmadēva, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, who had accumulated a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the god Gōkarṇēśvara (Śiva), situated on the summit of the Mahēndra Mountain, and who had acquired the overlordship of the entire Kaliṅga country. The grant was issued from the capital city of Svētaka (Śvētaka), and seems to record the donation of a plot of land, the boundaries of which are given in lines 15—19, in the Vāḍoḍe village of the Khaluga Khaṇḍa-*viṣaya*, to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Māṇikadeva (a brāhmaṇa) of the Vatsa-*gotra* to the fivefold *pravara*, by the *Rāṇaka* Gaṅgakavilāsa (Gaṅgakaipilāsa ?). According to lines 10-11, the charter seems to have been issued by his son whose name is not given.[1]

[1] The learned editor should have known that the real donor is Bhūpēndravarman.

The inscription was written by the *Sandhivigrahin* Asokadatta,[1] engraved by the brazier Vimalacandra[2] and registered by the Chief-queen.

(58) Svalpavēlur grant of Anantavarman of *Saṁvat* 79.

In 1925, six sets of copperplate inscriptions were secured by me from the village of Pālajhāḍi, as stated in No. 53, in the ex-Zamindari of Baḍakhemunḍi in the Ganjam District. I was told that a few years before 1935, while digging the earth near the Pālajhāḍi village,[3] a cultivator found a big urn containing ten sets of copperplate inscriptions. Four sets were destroyed before I recovered the remaining six sets, all belonging to the early Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga.

The present set is one of the six sets and edited by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in *E. I.*, XXIV, pp. 129—137 ff. The remaining five sets are shown in Nos. 53, 54, 56, 57 and 64.

This set consists of three plates, each measuring 7″×2·3/4″. They are attached to a ring which holds the royal-seal containing an indistinct figure of a recumbent bull.

Dr. Chhabra gives the translation of the text as follows :

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[1] Sri Chakravarti reads this name as Asokadanta. Probably, he is guided by finding a *Vindu* above the letter 'da'. In the Svalpavēlur grant of Anantavarman (No. 58), we find that the same officer's name is recorded as Aśokadeva. There he is a *dūtaka* and *Mahāsāmanta*.

[2] Vimalacandra seems to be the same engraver whose name is recorded in the Pālajhāḍi plates of Jayavarman, in No. 53 above.

[3] For location of this village, please refer to the *Survey of India Map*, No. 74A/7 at about 2″ below the village Bishamagiri where No. 61 was discovered.

164 (11.1—8)— Oṃ Hail ! From the (capital) city of Svētaka, the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Anantavarmadēva, who has a store of religious merit acquired by worshipping the lotus-like feet of the illustrious lord Gōkarṇēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, Siva), who is the cause in bringing about the creation, preservation and destruction (of the universe) (and) who resided on the summit of the mount Mahēndra, who has the entire circle of feudatory-chiefs loyally attached (to himself) through the excellence of his threefold power, who has the supremacy over the whole of Kaliṅga (country), acquired by the strength and force of his own arms, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*i.e.*, Śiva), who has meditated on the feet of his parents, (and) who is an ornament of the pure family of the Gaṅgas, being in good health;

(Ll. 8—21)—duly honoured and commands the present as well as future (officers) of the district and of country, headed by the brāhmaṇas, (namely) *Mahā-ṣāmanta*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Antaraṅga*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Viṣayapati*, *Grāmapati*, *Bhāgin*, *Bhōgin* and so forth, as well as others belonging to the class of *Chāṭas*, *Bhaṭas* and *Vallabhas* in the district of Khalgu-Khaṇḍa (as follows) :—

(Ll. 12—18)—"Be it known to you that this village of Svalpavēlura (or Svalpavēlura), belonging to this district (of Khalgu-Khaṇḍa), (and) marked by (all the) four boundaries, has been donated by us, after making it rent-free, with libations of water to Bhaṭṭa Nanaṭa-śarman of the Vājasanēya *caraṇa*, the Kāṇva *śākhā*, the Vatsa *gotra* (and) the Bhṛigu-Cyavana-Āpnavāna-Jāmadagni *pravara*, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth (endure); wherefore seeing this copper-charter

and out of respect for the *Dharma*, no one should become an obstacle (to it).

(Ll. 18—26)—Moreover, it is declared in the *Dharmaśāstra*:

[Here follow five of the customary verses].

(Ll. 27—30) —The *Dūtaka* here is the illustrious *Mahāsāmanta* Aśōkadēva. The document is written by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Gōvindadēva and enshrined by the *Queen* Śrīvāsa Bhaṭṭārikā.

And (it) is engraved by the illustrious Mahindrabhīma. The year 19, of the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.

(59) Ganjam plates of Pṛithivīvarmadēva.

Some time before 1896, Mr. C. J. Weir, the then District Collector of Ganjam, sent this set of copper-plate grant to Dr. Hultzsch for examination. No further information regarding the find spot of it is now forthcoming. Dr. Kielhorn edited the same in *E. I.*, IV, pp. 198—201 without giving its facsimile.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7½"×3·3/4". The ring is missing.

Dr. Kielhorn gives the purport of the grant as follows: –

The inscription is of Mahindravarmadēva's son, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, the lord of the excellent city of Kōlāhala, ... the *Mahārāja* Pṛithivīvarmadēva, who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the holy lord Gōkarṇeśvara, dwelling on the summit of the mount Mahēndra, and who by the excellence of the three constituents of his regal power had attached to himself

the whole circle of feudatories, and had acquired by the valorous strength of his arms sovereignty over all Kaliṅga. From his residence at Svētaka (Svētaka), the king, by this document, informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an equinox he gave a village in the Ja(no)ra *viṣaya* to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Subhaṅkara, (a brāhmaṇa) of the Vatsa *gotra*, who was a student of the Vājasanēya *caraṇa*, belonged to the Kāṇva *śākhā*, and had the fivefold *Pravara*, Bhārgava, Cyavana, Āpnavan, Aurva and Jamadagni,—in such a manner that the donee under this deed was entitled to the yearly receipt of four *palas* in silver. The inscription was written by the *Sandhivigrahin*, or minister of peace and war, *Sāmanta*, engraved by the brazier *Sāmanta* Svayaṁbhū, and furnished with a seal (lāñchhita) by the Chief-queen.

It is interesting to note here that Kōlāhalapura Paṭṭaṇa is for the first time mentioned in this inscription. In the *Purāṇas*, like the *Brahmāṇḍa* (II. 16. 21.) *Viṣṇu* (III. 18. 73) and *Vāmana* (45, 90; 105-06), we find that Kōlāhala was the name of a hill and it was the place where Gayāsura performed austerities. Most probably, the Kōlāhala was situated near Mahēndra in Ganjam so that a town was established there having the same name. A city named Kōlāpura is mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍa* p. (IV. 44. 97) where the goddess Lalitā was worshipped.

(60) Indian Museum (or Sānakhemuṇḍi) plates of Indravarman.

The history of discovery of these plates is same as the case in No. 59 above. They are edited by Sri C. C. Das Gupta in *E. I.*, XXVI, pp. 165—171 ff.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7″×3· 1/5″. They are attached to a ring containing the royal-seal with the emblem of a lying-bull.

The text is full of mistakes and it is a mixture of Sanskrit and local Oriya Prākrit.

At the end of the 36th line, there is a numerical symbol within two *daṇḍas* at the front and back of the symbol. It is a symbol for the number 20 (Vide G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, Plate No. LXXIII). Sri Das Gupta, while editing this grant, failed to decipher the numerical value of the symbol.

We notice a numerical figure of 10 at the end of the text in No. 59 which grant, like the present one, has been engraved by the Smith Svayaṁbhū and enshrined by one *Gōsvāmini*. The plate No. 59 which is a grant made by Pṛithivīvarmadēva, the son of Mahindravarmadēva, is written by the same brazier Svayaṁbhū. So, we presume that Śrī *Mahādevi*, the queen of Pṛithivīvarmadeva, was called *Gōsvāmini* after she became a widow. This leads us to conclude that Pṛithivīvarman had three sons through his queen Śrī Mahādevī (afterwards called *Gōsvāmini*), namely (1) Gaṅgasvayambū, whose queen Elā is the actual donor of the grant, (2) Indravarman the king of Svētaka during whose regnal year 20, the grant was issued and (3) *Rāṇaka* Dānārṇava. In this connection we should point out that like the name of Gaṅgasvayaṁbhū, we get the name of Gaṅgakavilāsa whose son is Bhūpēndravarman, the king of Svētaka in whose time *Rāṇaka* Gaṅgakavilāsa made the grant (No. 57).

(61) Biṣamagiri plates of Indravarman:—

The plates were discovered during reclamation of a plot of land in the village of Biṣamagiri[1] in the ex-Zamindary of Sānakhemuṇḍi in the Ganjam District. The grant was edited by the late Tarini Charana Ratha, B. A. in *E. I.*, XIX, pp. 134—137 ff. It was re-edited

1. *Survey of India Map*, sheet No. 74 A7

168 in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pts. 2, 3 and 4, pp.183–188 ff. by R. Subba Rao without referring to the previous edition by T. C. Rath.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7" × 3·5/6". They are attached to a ring containing the royal-seal with the emblem of a couchant bull and a crescent.

An abridged translation of the text was given by the late T. C. Rath as follows :—

(Ll. 1-12) — Hail ! The glorious *Māhārāja* Indravarman, who has acquired a store of virtue by the worship of the lotus-feet of the divine lord Gōkarṇēśvara, the Almighty master of animate and inanimate, who wears the crest ornament of the half-moon, is cause of existence, genesis and destruction and who resides on the summit of the Mahēndra-Mountain he possessing the overlordship of the entire Kaliṅga country, by the strength of his own arms, endeared to all his vassals by the pre-eminence of his threefold powers, a great devotee of Śiva and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother advises and commands, from the residence of Svētaka, the *Mahāsāmanta*, *Śrī-Sāmanta*, *Rājanaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Viṣayapati*, *Grāmapati* and other officers in the Jalaṁvōra-*viṣaya* thus:—

(Ll. 12—24) — "Be it all known to you that the land in the village of Amēraśṛiṅga, belonging to this province, bounded on the east by the western face of the tank as far as the river, on the west by the Bhōgapāṭaka land of *Vṛihadbhōgika*, on the north by such limit as you like and on the south by the river as far as the middle of its bed, is granted to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ja[kṣa]svāmi Śarman of the Vājasanēya

caraṇa, Kāṇva *śākhā*, Jātūkarṇṇa *gotra*, Vāśiṣṭha-Jātūkarṇṇa-*pravara* and Jātūkarṇavat-Jīvadvijēṣṭhavat *anupravara*, for the increase of the merit of our father, mother and self, accompanied with the handful of water, to be enjoyed by him as long as the moon, the sun and the earth last. Nobody, whoever he may be, should interfere with this, out of regard for virtue and ourself.

(Ll. 24—32)—It is stated thus in the *Dharmaśāstra*: [Then follow four customary and benedictory verses].

(Ll. 32—35)— The *dūtaka* here is *Mahāsāmanta* Śrī Nāgakhēḍi. [1] (The document was) written by *Mahāpratihāra* Ādityavarman; the king's seal was affixed (to it) by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Caṇḍapāka; and it was engraved by *Kāṁsakāra* (brazier) Dēvapila. [2]

(62) Gautami plates of Indravarman.

In 1937, this set of copperplates was discovered from the village of Gautami in the Baḍakhemuṇḍi taluk of Ganjam District. It was discovered by a villager while digging the earth in the said village for construction of a house. One, Tumulu Krishnamurti of Nuapara, secured the plates from the owner and gave them to Dr. Nilakantha Das, the ex-Speaker of the Orissa Assembly, who in his turn, handed them over to Pandit Vinayaka Misra, the ex-Lecturer in Oriya, Calcutta University. Pandit Misra gave the plates to Sri Kunja Govinda Goswami of Calcutta who edited them in *E. I.*, XXIV, pp. 180—183 ff.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 6¼″×4¼″. They are attached to a ring containing

[1] From the designation 'Kheḍi' attached to his name, it is presumed that he belonged to the family of the Kadamba Chieftains who lived in the Mahēndra-bhoga-viṣaya and used the same title.

[2] The designations 'Pāka' and 'Pila' suggest their origin in the far South. I think, the designation 'Pillāi' among the Tamilians was formerly 'Pila'.

170 a small seal, on which no legend or emblem is traceable.

Sri Goswami gives the translation of the text as follows :—

(Ll. 1—14)—Oṁ. Hail ! The illustrious *Mahārāja* Indravarman, who has acquired a store of virtues by worshipping the lotus feet of the illustrious god Gōkarṇēśvara, the Almighty—who is the lord of the fourteen worlds, who wears on the forehead the crescent, who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction and who resides on the summit of the hill *Mahēndra*,—be a moon in the sky—namely, the spotless race of Gaṅgas, possessing overlordship of the whole of the *Kaliṅga* territory by the strength of his arms, endeared to all vassals by the excellence of his threefold power, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) advises from the victorious residence of Svētaka, the existing administrative officers together with the accountant, the *Daṇḍanāyaka*, and the like, the inhabitants of the locality, the officials of the rank of *Cāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallabha*—at the village of the Sālavaṇika [1] in the *viṣaya* or district of Heṁvakamaṭaṁva.

(Ll. 14—24)—"Be it known to you that this piece of land is given along with the offering of water to Vināyaka Sarman and......Sarman of the Vājasanēya *caraṇa*, Parāśara *gotra* and Sakti-Vāśiṣṭha-Kāṇva *pravara* to continue as long as the sun and the moon exist for the increase of the merit of mother, father and self. (*It is bounded*) on the east by an ant-hill, which is in the shape of a quiver, on the south-west by the tank called Kosāṁva and on the north by the tank named Udaya. Thus, on all sides it is marked

[1] The editor reads Sālacaṇika for Sālavaṇika. Sālavana was a famous place. It is mentioned in No. 35 above.

by fixed and clear boundaries. Nobody should oppose (*this grant*). Thus it is said in the religious scriptures —

(Ll. 25—28) [Here follow two verses]

(Ll. 29)—Gift of four *murajas* (of land). Incised by the illustrious *Akṣaśālin* Padmacandra on the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of *Saṁvat* 4.

(63) Sānakhemuṇḍi plates of Indravarman.

This grant is one of the six sets of inscriptions found in the village of Pālajhāḍi in the Baḍakhemuṇḍi taluk of Ganjam. The circumstance under which these plates have been discovered is stated in our note for No. 53 above.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7″×4″. They are held by a ring, containing the royal seal on which the figure of a recumbent bull is found. This inscription was edited in *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 78—80 ff., by Sri P. N. Bhattacharya who gave an abridged purport of the grant as follows :—

"The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the *P.M.P.*[1] Indravarmadēva, the son of Pṛithivīvarmadēva, of the village called Tanaraḍā in Hallarṁvara [2] *viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍi, the son of Bhaṭṭabōdhana [3] belonging to the Chandōga *caraṇa*, the Rāṇāyanīya *śākhā*, Vatsa *gotra*, the Aurva-Bhṛigu-cyavana-Āpnuvān-jāmadagni *pravara* and *anupravara*. The grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse from the royal residence of Svēt(ta)ka".

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[1] P. M. P.—*Paramamāheśvara-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara.*

[2] The correct name of the *viṣaya* (district) seems to be Hallaṁbara and the village is Tanaraḍā.

[3] The correct reading will be *Bhaṭṭa* Bodhana as is noticed in the estampage.

(64) Baḍakhemuṇḍi plates of Dānārṇava.

The find spot of this inscription is same as that of No. 53. It is one of the six sets, discovered from Baḍakhemuṇḍi in Ganjam District. It was edited by Sri S. N. Chakravarti in *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 263—265 ff. Sri Chakravarti edited four sets of the Gaṅga-plates under the captions A, B, C and D. The present grant is No. 'B'.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 5·3/4″×3·3/4″. They are attached to a ring containing the royal seal, on which there are the emblems of a lying bull at the centre and a crescent at the top. The emblem at the bottom is not distinct.

The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse to *Bhaṭṭa* Durggakhaṇḍaka, the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Bodhana. The same donee appears in No. 63 above which was granted by Indravarman, the son of Pṛithivivarman. It proves that the donor of this grant, *Rāṇaka* Dānārṇava, is the brother of Indravarman. Both the grants were made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. For want of further evidence, we cannot say at present that *Mahārājādhirāja* Indravarman and his brother *Rāṇaka* Dānārṇava granted two villages to the same donee on the same day, when there was a solar eclipse. It may also be presumed that Dānārṇava was not a king of Svōtaka, although he used the glorious family epithet in a conventional manner; but he was only a *Rāṇaka* or a chief under his elder brother, Indravarman.

The phrase "*Sivamasmākaṃ manyat*" in line 14 seems to have been an imitation from the grants of the Bhañjas. Similarly, the scripts adopted in this charter differ from all the scripts, used in all the previous Gaṅga-plates. They resemble those of the Bhañja grants, belonging to Śatṛubhañja and others. (vide *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. 1, pp. 208—213 ff.)

Sri S. N. Chakravarti gives an abridged purport of the grant as follows :—

"The inscription is of Prithivīvarman's son, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja,* the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, the *Rāṇaka* Dānārṇavadēva, who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the holy lord Gōkarṇēśvara, dwelling on the summit of the mount Mahēndra and who by the excellence of his threefold power, had endeared himself to all his vassals, and had acquired by the strength of his own arms the overlordship of the entire Kaliṅga country. From his residence at Svētaka, evidently the same as Svētaka, the king informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, he gave the village Kāsiḍḍā, situated in the Jayaḍā *viṣaya* [1] to *Bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana's son, *Bhaṭṭa* Durga-khaṇḍika [2], (a brāhmaṇa) of the vatsa-*gotra,* who was a student of Chandoga *caraṇa* and had the fivefold *pravara* and *anupravara.* The inscription was written by *Sandhivigrahin* Dhanadatta and engraved by Dāmōdara.

(65) Dhanantarā plates of Sāmantavarman.

In 1917, the late Tarini Charana Ratha of Ganjam recovered this set of copperplate inscription from the possession of an Ōriya brāhmaṇa of Dhanantarā village in the ex-Zamindary of Sēragaḍa of Ganjam District. It is learnt that the plates were found while digging the earth from the backyard of his (the brāhmaṇa's)

[1] Jayaḍā may be identified with the modern Jaraḍā village in the district of Ganjam.

[2] From Nos. 63, 64 and 65, we know that *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍi is the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana and he was honoured by three kings of Svētaka.

 own house. The late Tarini Charana Rath edited the grant in *E. I.*, XV, pp. 275—278 ff.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 6″×3¼″. They are attached to a ring containing the royal-seal, the emblems of which have been defaced.

The translation of the text, as given by Mr. Rath, runs as follows :—

(Ll. 1—15)—Hail ! The glorious Sāmantavarman, who has acquired a store of virtue by the worship of the lotus-feet of the divine lord Gōkarnēśvara, the Almighty, who is the master of the animate and the inanimate, who wears the crest-ornament of the half-moon, who is the cause of existence, genesis and destruction, and who resides on the summit of the Mahēndra Mountain;—he, a moon in the sky, namely, the noble Gaṅga race; possessing the overlordship of the entire Svētaka (country), won by the strength of his own arms; endeared to all his vassals by the pre-eminence of his threefold powers; a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva); and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother; being well, commands from the victorious residence of Svētaka, the administrative officers together with the accountants in the Hāmanibhoga *viṣaya* (province) thus:—

(Ll. 15—21)—"Be it known to you that (the village) Vaṭagrāma, belonging to this province within the boundaries of the *mōdaki* tree and the peepul tree on the east and west and of the tank on the south, is given to Govindaśarman, a brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and of the Vājasanēya *caraṇa* for the increase of the merit of my father, mother and self.

(Ll. 22—25)—And, I beseech future kings (thus), "O Kings ! Have not doubt of reward on the ground

that it is another's gift. The maintenance of another's grants has a far greater reward than one's own gift."

(Ll. 25)—Incised by Padmacandra.

(66) Kamānalinākṣapura plates of Sāmantavarman of *Saṁvat* 173.

Two sets of copperplate inscriptions were discovered in October, 1958, at the foot of the Patharapāri Hill near the village of Kamānalinākṣapura, not far from the famous Jaugaḍa (where the famous Kaliṅga Edict of Aśoka is) in the district of Ganjam. The plates were acquired for the Orissa State Museum on 15-11-1958.

The present set consists of three plates, attached to a ring with a seal on it. The seal is circular in size and the legend on it is not legible. The diametre of the ring is 4″. Each plate measures about 6″×2·8″.

The inscription was edited by me in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 82—86 ff.

The purport of the grant is as given below:—

Hail ! The illustrious king, Sāmantavarman, who has acquired a store of virtue by the worship at the feet of Gōkarṇaśvāmin (god) established on the summit of the Mahēndra Mountain, who was like the moon in the sky-like race of the Gaṅgas, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and who was the great meditator at the feet of his parents, commanded from the city of Svētaka proclaiming that the village of Badaribhashṭhi in Sāmantabhukti *viṣaya* was granted to Nārāyaṇa Śarman of Kāśyapa *gotra* and Vājasanēya *caraṇa*. The boundaries of the village are as follows :—

To the east, the *Morapādā* trees; to the south, the *Pāli-śimā* (end of the embankment); to the north, the end of the *Piṇḍāra* tree; from there crossing a distance of twenty *nalas* (?) towards the western side, there is

176 the State-high-way of Kaliṅga, Dharmarāja Kaliṅgāpatha, (made by Dharmarāja).

[After this, follows a benedictory verse].

This was written by Uṁvaradeva, the *Bhōgika* and engraved by *Bhōgika* Padmacandra[1] in *Saṁvat* 173, Vibhava[2] *ba. di.* 20.

(67) Phērava grant of Sāmantavarman of *Saṁvat* 185.

This set of copperplate inscriptions was discoverd from village of Cīḍivalasā in the Srikakulam district where from No. 43 was discovered. It was brought out while digging the earth. M. Somasekhara Sarma edited the inscription in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, p. 50 f. and Dr. R. C. Majumdar re-edited the same in *E. I.*, XXVII, pp. 108—115 ff.

The plates are three in number each measuring 5·8″×2·2″.

The donor is Sāmantavarman, who was the king of Svētaka and not of Kaliṅganagara near which lies Cīḍivalasā where the present plates were discovered. It is, therefore, presumed that the plates were removed from Svētaka to Kaliṅganagara sometime after the grant was issued.

The kings of Svētaka ruled a portion of Kaliṅga which extended towards the north of the Mahēndra mountain. Some of the kings of that line used the title of *Rāṇaka* indicating their subordinate position. It is learnt that the Bhauma-kara kings of Tōṣalī and Kōṅgada, whose territory touched the borders of Svētaka,

1. Padmacandra's name is found in No. 66 above.

2. *Vibhava* is a doubtful word. Probably it is *Kuṁbha Ba. di.* 20. But the names of solar months were not used in any Kaliṅga grant during the medieval period. So, it may also be read as Bhādrava (Bhādrapada). Vibhava is the second year of the sixty-cyclic year of the *Bārhaspatya-māna*. But, it cannot be interpreted as that for the reason that " *Ba. di.* 20 ", are followed after this word.

were using the titles on overlordship. In their inscriptions and in the grants of some of their subordinate kings, namely, the Bhañjas, the Nalas, the Nandōdbhavas, the Tuṅgas and the Śulkis, we find that an *era* (*Bhauma-era*) known as *Saṁvat* was used. According to our calculation, it was started in 736-37 A. D.,[1] when the Bhauma Karas began to rule in Toshali (north and south) including Kōṅgoda, immediately after the decline of the Śailōdbhavas. In the present inscription Sāmantavarman, the king of Svētaka, used the same *Saṁvat* instead of the '*Gaṅga-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsara*', which was commonly used in the grants of the kings of Kaliṅga-nagara. Therefore, we cannot take this "*Saṁvat* 185" of the present grant as corresponding to the *Gaṅga-era* 185 and make Sāmantavarman a contemporary of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Guṇārṇava of the Kaliṅga-nagara line. Dēvēndravarman ruled from Kaliṅganagara at least from the *Gaṅga-era* 183 to 195 (vide Nos. 17—20 above). As such, there is no possibility of Sāmanta-varman of the Svētaka line extending his territory as far south as Ciḍivalasā near Srikakulam. I am, therefore, unable to accept the views of Dr. Majumdar who infers that.

"It is probable that Sāmantavarman, taking advantage of the troubles of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara, founded an independent principality in the northern part of the Ganjam district." We should say that the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara had never yielded to any outside power.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar gives the translation of the text of this inscription thus :—

(Ll. 1—8)—Om. Hail, from the victorious city of Scētaka (Svētaka) the illustrious *Mahārājā* Sāmanta-

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[1] For further detail, please refer to my paper in the *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 208—13 ff. and *Ibid*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 100—108 ff.

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178 varman. who has acquired a store of religious merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the illustrious lord Gōkarṇēśvara, the master of the animate and the inanimate, who wears the crest ornament of the half-moon, is the source of creation, preservation and destruction, and who resides on the summit of the Mount Mahēndra,—who is the moon in the clear sky, *viz.*, the pure family of the Gaṅgas, who has won the supremacy over Kaliṅga by the strength of his own arms, who has the entire circle of the feudatory chiefs attached (to himself) through the excellence of his three-fold powers, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who has meditated on the feet of his parents, and who is the ruler of the whole of Kaliṅga, being in good health, commands the people concerned in the village of Pherava in the *Viṣaya* (district) of Lauhaśṛiṅga (as follows):—

(Ll. 9—13)—"Be it known to you that the village, with the (right of) cutting Aśvattha trees,[1] and exempted from all taxes, has been given (by me) for the sake of increasing the religious merit of myself and my parents, with libations of water, as an *agrahāra*, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth, to the four pre-eminent Brāhmaṇas, *viz.*, Kirtiśarman and his sons Dēvaśarman, Raviśarman and Divākaraśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasenēya (*caraṇa*).

(Ll. 13—15)—The boundaries of this village are: on the east, the dry (bed of) river running (?) south; on the west, the river Mēghāvati; on the north, the Kodrava-canal; on the south, the pits to the north-east as far as the hill.

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[1] It appears that cutting of trees like Aśvattha was not permitted under the Gaṅga Administration.

(Ll. 15-16) –Knowing this no one should offer the slightest obstacle (to it)".

(Ll. 16—18)—(He also) enjoins upon the future kings that this religious gift should be maintained by those who rule the world after having acquired it by virtue, enterprise and valour.

(Ll. 18—24)—There are also the *ślōkas* sung by Vyāsa (here follow five of the customary verses.)

(L. 25)—The year 185, the 30th day of Kārttika.[1]

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[1] It is interesting to note here that the *Gaṅga-era* 185 corresponds, according to our calculation, to (185—626—7—) 811-812 A. D. In 812 A. D. the 30th day of Kārttika or Kārttika-pourṇami falls on the day when the Vriscika-*Saṁkrānti* started and there was a lunar eclipse on that day, (vide Swamikannu Pillais *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. II, p. 27). Thus, it is a highly auspicious occasion for *dānam* to Brāhmaṇas.

CHAPTER VI

(Historical Account of the Gangas from the 7th to the 10th century A. D.)

THE Cālukyan king Viṣṇuvardhan (I), brother of Pulakeśin (II), captured the southern half of Kaliṅga as far north as the river Nāgāvalī. It is known from the Timmapuram plates of Viṣṇuvardhana, who granted a village from his capital at Piṣṭapura. Under the circumstances, the Gaṅgas of Trikaliṅga should have tried to get back the entire Southern area of Kaliṅga into their own possession. Indeed, it happened so in the time of Indravarman (I).

Except the Timmapuram plates, no other Cālukyan charter was ever issued from the city of Piṣṭapura.[1] So, the Gōdāvarī region was not a part of Veṅgi after Viṣṇuvardhan (I), *i. e.*, in the middle of the 7th century A. D. Most probably, the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga pushed back the Eastern Cālukyas to the south, beyond the Gōdāvarī. In this connection we may cite a passage from the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛithivīmula,[2] where mention is made regarding a tough fight between two kings under a common name as Indra. One of them is called Adhirāja Indra and the other is Indra Bhaṭṭāraka. The author of the said charter has allegorically referred to the territories over which they ruled. One of them is stated to have mounted on an elephant named Supratīka, a *diggaja* of the north-eastern quarter and the other seated on Kumuda, another *diggaja* of the south-western quarter. They fought in a battle field where the Indra, riding on Kumuda, was killed

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[1] From his Chipurupalli plates we know that he granted a village called Ceripura (identical with the modern village of Chipurapalli in Srikakulam District) in his 18th regnal year or A. D. 680-81, corresponding the *G. E.* 34.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* (*Bom. Br.*), Vol. XVI, p. L 114 ff.

by the Indra on Supratīka. The relevant passage is quoted below :—

"Cāturddanta—saṅgrāma—vijayasya Mitavarmaṇaḥ priyatanayēna sarabhasam = Indrabhaṭṭāraka-samutpāṭanābhilāṣa—samudita—pramuditāśiṣa—nṛpati-kṛta — tumula-samar = ādhirūḍha—Supratīk = ānēka—Pābimukha—samada-Kumuda—dvirada—nipātan = ādhigata—bhuvanatala—viśuddha—yaśasā Śrīmad = Indrādhirājēna.............."

While editing this inscription, Dr. Fleet had correctly interpreted the above passage as follows :—

"The Adhirāja Indra, at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality from which this grant comes, and its approximate period as indicated by the palaeographical standard of the characters and the use of the numerical symbols of the date, there can be no doubt that this Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Cālukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha (ŚŚ. 579 or 582), and the father of Viṣṇuvardhana (II) (ŚŚ. 579 to 586, or ŚŚ. 82 to 591). All the grants of the dynasty, published and unpublished, that have come to my notice, mention Indrabhaṭṭāraka as not having reigned. The figurative expression, that the Adhirāja Indra mounted upon the elephant Supratīka of the N. E. quarter overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the S. W. or the Southern quarter, shows that the attack upon the Eastern Cālukyas was made from the north-east of their kingdom Veṅgi. It is probable that the Adhirāja-Indra is identical with the *Gaṅga Mahārāja* Indravarman...".[1]

Regarding the identification of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, there is divergence of opinion. According to

[1] We have already quoted this at the end of Ch. IV above.

some scholars, he is the Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family of Veṅgi. Dr. J. Dubreuil says that he is Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, the son the of Vikramēndravarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family.[1] Dr. Kielhorn accepts this view.[2] R. Subbarao has rightly identifies the second Indravarman or Adhirāja Indra, (the winner) with Indravarman of *G. E.* 39 (vide No. 2 above). But as regards his rival Indra, he assumes Indrabhaṭṭāraka to be of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family[3]; or else his theory regarding the starting point of the *Gaṅga-era*, which he fixes at the last part of the 5th century A. D. will become void. M. Somasekhara Sarma, however, points out that the "identification of the Indrādhirāja with Indravarman *alias* Rājasiṁha of Kaliṅga is utterly baseless and untenable"[4].

These assumptions, relating to the identification of both the Indras of the Gōdāvarī plates, seem to have been based more or less on the highly controversial point relating to the date of commencement of the *Gaṅga-era*. Now, because the theory, according to which the *Gaṅga-era* started in or about 498 A. D., is to be revised to A. D. 626-27 as per Appendix I, we need not hesitate to accept the original suggestion of Dr. Fleet who identifies Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman with the Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the E. Cālukya family who was killed by Indravarman (I) of Kaliṅga.[5]

The following *praśasti* of Indravarman, the *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, tempts as to regard him as the winner of the above battle :—

"Anēka - cāturdanta-samara - vijaya - vimala - vikōśa-nistriṁśadhārā - samākrānta - sakala - sāmanta - nṛpati-

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[1] *The Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 74 & 91 ff.

[2] *E. I.*, IV, p. 195 ff.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pt III, pp. 290-2 4 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 171-86 ff.

[5] The Indravarman of Kaliṅga who issued the Jirjingi plates in *G. E.* 39 must have lived in A. D. (626 plus 39)=665 which is the precise time when the E. Cālukyas started to rule in Veṅgi.

maṇḍal = ādhipati - mukuṭa - nihita - rucira - padmarāga-prabhā-prasēka-parispaṅga-piṅgāṅgīkṛta - caraṇa - yugalaḥ. Atula-vala-samuday = āvāpta-vipula-vibhavaḥ ...."

This grant of Indravarman was issued in *G. E.* 39 or A. D. 665-66 (vide No. 2 above). This is the precise time when Indrabhaṭṭāraka's son Viṣṇuvardhana (II), was the king of Veṅgi. A few years later, the memorable battle between Indrabhaṭṭāraka and Indra-varman must have taken place; because, the Cālukyan king, Indrabhaṭṭāraka, died in or about 663 A. D. Then, his son Viṣṇuvardhana (II) *alias* Viṣamasiddhi came to the throne. According to the Nellore grant, the second regnal year of Viṣṇuvardhana (II) falls in ŚS. 586 or 664 A. D. [1]

Although Indravarman (I) possessed the southern portion of Kaliṅga, he could not use the glorious title of *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati*. His successor, Sāmanta-varman, in *G. E.* 64 or A. D. 690, did not use that glorious title. The reason is quite obvious. It is that the northern parts of Sakala-Kaliṅga was under the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅgoda Maṇḍala in the reigning periods of Indravarman (I) and Sāmantavarman.

Mahārāja Hastivarman, whose name occurs after Sāmantavarman, and who issued two charters in *G. E.* 79 and 80 (vide Nos. 5 and 6 above), used the title of *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati* for the first time in the family. That title was incorporated with the royal *praśasti* and used by each succeeding king of the family in a conventional manner. Most probably, he (Hastivarman) was a contemporary of Dharmarāja of the Śailōdbhava family, whose period has been assigned to about 711 A. D. [2] According to our calculation, Hastivarman issued his grants in A. D. 705-06 and

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[1] *I. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 186 and Vol. XIII, p. 320 ff.

[2] *I. O.*, Vol. I, pt. II, *Appendix* I, after page 264.

706-07. Hence, we may say that he could manage to subdue the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅgōda Maṇḍala during the first quarter of the 8th century A. D. After this, he shifted his capital from Dantapura to Kaliṅga-nagara, on the banks of the river Vaṁśadhārā near Mukhalingam, in the Srikakulam District. The necessity for shifting of the capital from Dantapura must have been felt when the northern portion of the kingdom was expanded and a more convenient and central place was required to run the administration.

The Śailōdbhavas were crushed and the northern half of Kaliṅga had come into the possession of the Gaṅgas some time after A. D. 700. Kōṅgōda was not retained within Kaliṅga any longer. It was again captured by the Bhauma Karas who probably migrated to Utkala from Assam. The first known king of that family (Bhauma Kara) is Unmaṭṭakeśari. His capital was at Virajānagara or Virajā-kṣētra (the modern Jājapur of the Cuttack District). During that period, a collateral branch of the Gaṅgas occupied the country of Svētaka which extended to the north of the Mahēndra Mountain. It (Svētaka) acted as a Buffer State between the kingdoms of Kaliṅga and Kōṅgōda. The Bhauma Karas seem to have appointed for some time the Svētaka-Gaṅgas as their vassals. We shall deal with this aspect while writing about the Svētaka-Gaṅgas in the succeeding chapter.

The capital of Kaliṅga was Siṁhapura [1] before the advent of the Gaṅgas who did not prefer to locate their headquarters in the same town. So, for the purpose of administration, they kept an outpost at Siṁhapura, [2] appointing a member of the royal

[1] For details see *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 59--62 ff.

[2] From the Peddadugam plates of Śatṛudamanadēva (vide *E. I.*, XXXI, p. 89 ff.), we find that one Śatṛudamana who is a *Mahārāja* ruled over the province of Giri-Kaliṅga from Siṁhapura (*I. O.*, Vol. II, p. 237 ff.)

family as their subordinate. The Gaṅgas had their capital, in the beginning of their rule, at Dantapura. *Mahārāja* Indravarman (I) issued his grant in *G. E.* 39 from that city. But, in Sāmantavarman's grant the royal seat is called Śrīnivāsa. We cannot say at present whether it refers to Dantapura or Kaliṅganagara. In Buddhist literature, Dantapura is described as an important seat of Buddhism [1] and also an important royal seat of Kaliṅga.

In the *Dāṭhavaṁśa* [2] it is stated that there was a king in Kaliṅga called Brahmadatta, who got the tooth-relic from one Kṣēma. He built a *caitya* in Kaliṅga and began to worship it there. His son Kāśirāja and grandson Sunanda continued to worship the sacred tooth-relic. The latter's son Guhaśiva, succeeded to the throne after his father. He became a devout worshipper of the Buddha. The matter was reported to Pāṇḍu, the then king of Pāṭaliputra. Pāṇḍu grew angry with Guhaśiva, and sent a large army under one Cētiya to imprison him. But, Guhaśiva had willingly gone to Pāṭaliputra to present the tooth-relic to the king Pāṇḍu. There, receiving some bad advice from the courtiers, Pāṇḍu ordered the tooth-relic to be consigned to the fire. But, his object could not be fulfilled. Then, he asked some *Nirgranthas* to sink it in the ocean. That too failed. So, the king thought that there was some supernatural power hidden in it, whereupon, he returned back the tooth-relic to Guhaśiva. Meanwhile, Pāṇḍu defeated a king named Kṣīradhāra, whereafter he gave full liberty to Guhaśiva and allowed him to go back to his own country, Kaliṅga. Some time after this, a prince of Ujjayinī, named Danta Kumāra, visited Kaliṅga to

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[1] *Jat. Story,* Vol. II, p. 317; *Mahāvāstu,* Vol. III, p. 361; *Dīgha* II, 167, 235.

[2] *The Dāṭhavaṁśa,* Chs III and IV.

worship the tooth-relic. Seeing his deep devotion, Guhaśiva was extremly pleased and gave his daughter Hemamālā to him in marriage. They lived together happily in Kaliṅga. Meanwhile, some fresh troubles appeared in his country. Some relatives of Kṣīradhāra arrived at Kaliṅga to take away the tooth-relic from there. In anticipation of further danger, Guhaśiva sent the tooth-relic to Ceylon (Laṅkā) through his son-in-law, Dantakumāra and the daughter, Hemamālā, because one Mahēndrasēna, the then king of Laṅkā, was his bosom friend. But, by the time Dantakumāra and Hemamālā reached Ceylon, Mahēndrasēna's son, Śirimēgha, was the ruler. He accepted the tooth-relic with great reverence and preserved the same in a *caitya* at Mahāgiri Vihāra.[1] The tooth-relic was originally worshipped in Kaliṅga in the city of Dantapura.

In the Buddhist literature and the *Jātaka stories*, mention is made of Dantapura as a religious and political centre of Kaliṅga.[2]

The following *Jātaka stories* refer to Dantapura:—

1. *Kurudharma-Jātaka*
2. *Cullakaliṅga-Jātaka*
3. *Kaliṅga-Bōdhi-Jātaka*

In the *Kurudharma-Jātaka*, the story goes that there was a king named Kaliṅgarāja who lived in Dantapura. Once, the country of Kaliṅga suffered from a terrible famine owing to drought. A large number of people assembled together at the gate of the royal palace to express their grievances before the king.[3]

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[1] According to the Mahā-vaṁśa, the tooth-relic was taken to Ceylon in the 9th regnal year of the king Sirimēgha—
"Navamē tassa vassamhi Dāṭhādhātuṃ mahēsinō
Brāhmaṇā kāci ādāya kāliṅgaṃ hā idhānayi |"
(*Vide The Mahāvaṁśa*, edited by George Turnour (1825), p. 241 f.

[2] The *Jātakas*, ed. by Fausboll, Vol. II, p. 367; *The Mahāvastu*, ed. by Senart, Vol. III, p. 361 and *Digha-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 167 & 235 ff.

[3] *Journal of Pāli Text Society* (1884), Vol, II, pp. 57, 98 & 100; Vol, III, p. 2 and *J. A. S. B*, 1837, p. 860

We find mention of Dantapura in the *Purāṇas* also. In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, it is stated that a Cēdi king named Dantavaktra had his capital at Dantapura.[1] So, R. Subbarao is inclined to identify the modern Dantavaktra-kōṭā, near Srikakulam, with Dantapura.

In the Mangalur plates of Siṁhavarman of the Pallava dynasty there is the mention of a place named Dasanapura. Dr. Burnell suggests that this may be identified with Dantapura [2]. But, it is not convincing, as Dasanapura is not found in any of the epigraphical records relating to Kaliṅga. G. V. Ramamurti suggests that it may be identified with Jayantipura which is mentioned in the *Sthala-purāṇa* of Mukhaliṅga-kṣetra. But, we find the name of Jayantipura as the capital of the Kadamba-kings of Kaliṅga, [3] who lived under the Gaṅgas as subordinate chiefs. We, therefore, cannot take their headquarters as an important residence of the Gaṅgas. In No. 49, Ch. IV, however, we find a passage which states that Dēvēndravarman's *Māṇḍalika* and *Rāṇaka* Bhīmakhēḍi had issued a grant when the Gaṅga king (his over-lord) was halting at Kaliṅga-nagara.[4] This grant of Bhīmakhēḍi was issued in Ś. 988 or 1066 A. D. :—

"Gaṅgāmala - kula- tilaka-Śrīmad = Dēvēndravarma-dēvasya vijaya-rājyē Śakāvda-na [va]śatāṣṭāśīti saṁvatsarō Dantapurē sthita[sya] । Tasya *Māṇḍalika-Paramamāhēśvara*-Kadambāmala-kula-kamala-mārttaṇḍa-samadhigata-pañcamahāśavd = ānēka... Śrī Dharmakhēḍi-suta-*Rāṇaka* Śrī Bhīmakhēḍi........."

A similar expression is found in No. 49 above (Vide lines 15-16 of the text in the *I. O.*, Vol. II, p. 218).

[1] The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, X, 78, 1—13, 37, 19 Dikshitar's *Purāṇa Index*, Vol. II, p. 71.

[2] *E. I.*, I, p. 398 ff.

[3] See Nos. 34 and 37 above.

[4] See No. 49.

From the time of Hastivarman, Kaliṅganagara was made an important headquarter of the Gaṅgas. But, Dantapura seems to have not lost its importance. It is proved from Nos. 14, 23, 41, 42, 44, 49 and 50 above (vide Ch. IV) that Dantapura or Dantipura is described as the royal seat of Kaliṅga.

In some of the inscriptions of Vajrahasta (grandfather of Cōḍagaṅgadēva), we find that he issued some of his grants from Dantapura. Even in Ś. 967, as per the Narsapattam plates, Vajrahasta issued a charter from Dantapura.[1] Therefore, it is believed that the early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga have been directly related to the later Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, in whose family Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his son, Rājarāja *alias* Dēvēndravarman and his grandson, Cōḍagaṅga *alias* Anantavarman, were born. It may also be noted that after Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 397 (Vide No. 48) and his son Manujēndravarman, the senior branch lost its supremacy and another branch of the family came into power and occupied the cities of Kaliṅganagara and Dantapura.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara introduced, in their grants, a family *Praśasti* with some minor changes, ever since they started their rule in Kaliṅga. They also used to mention the auspicious *era* of their family continuously for about 400 years. We call it the "*Gaṅga-era*". According to our calculation, it was started from 626-27 A. D., and probably from the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, the day which is popularly known as "*Suniā*". I have discussed this aspect in *Appendix I*.

Gaṅga rule in Kaliṅga commenced in or about 626-27 A. D., where they introduced their family *era*. Regarding the original place of the Gaṅgas, before

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[1] *E. I.*, XI, p. 149; *Ins.*, *Or.*, Vol. I, No. 1 ff.

they came to Kaliṅga, we get no information from the records, embodied in this volume. But, in connection with the W. Gaṅgas of Mysore, B. Lewis Rice writes thus :—

"According to the inscriptions, the progenitor of Kaliṅga Gaṅgas was Bhagadatta, between whom and his brother, Śrīdatta, their father Viṣṇugōpa divided his kingdom giving Kaliṅga to the former, and the ancestral kingdom, with the elephant, to the latter."[1]

It is interesting to note here that the elephant emblem is used in the Bangalore plates of Dēvēndravarman (see No. 30 above). This emblem was used by the Gaṅgas as long as they were the followers of Jainism. But, in Kaliṅga, they adopted Śaivism. So, they used the emblem of the bull in the place of elephant.

Regarding the migration of the Gaṅgas from Gaṅgavāḍi and Kōlāhalapura, we get some description in the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅgadēva (1077—1147 A. D.). The following verse is mentioned in these grants :—

"Āsīd = ēka-sit = ātapatra-tilaka-
kṣōṇibhṛd = asy = ātmajō
Vīra-Śrī-vanitā-svayaṃvṛta-patir =
dēvas = sa kōlāhalaṃ ।
Nirmmāy = ōrjjita-Gaṅgavāḍi-viṣayē
kōlāhalākhyaṃ puraṃ
Yaścakrē sura-sadma-vīkṣaṇa-rasa-
pratyūhamākṣṇāṃ harēḥ ॥"[2]

In the records of the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa, the same tradition was maintained with a modification of the verse as quoted below :—

"Dhana-kanaka-samṛddhō
Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasiddhaḥ
Sakala-viṣayabhūtaḥ
svarga-vargōpabhōgyaḥ ।

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[1] *Ep. Crn.*, Vol. LX, *Introductio n*p 9 ff.
[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 113; *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165 ff.

Tad = adhipatir = ath = ādy =
ānantvarmmā-nṛpēndraḥ
Samabhavad = iti rūḍhī
Gaṅga-nāmnā tad = ādyāḥ ||" [1]

These verses prove that the Gaṅgas, who lived in Kaliṅganagara, came from Gaṅgāvāḍi-*Viṣaya* where Kōlāhalapura was the capital. The W. Gaṅgas had also lived in Gaṅgavāḍi and Kōlāhalapura.

According to B. Lewis Rice, Kōlāhalapura is identical with Kōlar in the east of Mysore.

The name, Kōlāulāpurapaṭṭaṇa or Kōkalāvalapura-paṭṭaṇa is found in No. 60.

The epithets of Indravarman of Svētaka, in Nos. 60 and 64, are as follow :—

"Paramamāhēśvarō, mātā-pitṛ-pād—ānudhyātō,
Gaṅgāmala-kula-tilakaḥ, Śrī Nandagiri-nāthaḥ,
Kōlāulapura-paṭṭaṇa-vinirgataḥ, kāmvalya-varaya-ghōṣaḥ, Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Śrī Indravarmmadēvaḥ......."

According to P. N. Bhattacharya, the titles, namely *Kōlāulāpura-paṭṭaṇa* and *Nandagiri-nātha* were also adopted by some Western Cālukyas, as per Kielhorn's *List of South-Indian-Inscriptions*, Nos. 16 and 170-n.[2] The Western Gaṅgas have also used the same terms in their records. Therefore, confusion arises regarding the link between the W. Gaṅgas and the E. Gaṅgas. For instance, Dr. H. C. Roy suggests that "from the fact that they (the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga) occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kōlāhala. It is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But, the story of their migration and settlement from Kōlār[3] to Ganjam

[1] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V., No. 1, p. 7 ff.
[2] *E. I.* XVIII, p. 359 ff.
[3] For Kolāla, Kōlālapura etc., see *E. I.* XXV, p. 49 ff.

and the details of their subsequent history must, in the present state of our knowledge, remain shrouded in considerable obscurity". [1]

Nandagiri has been identified with Nandidurga of Mysore. [2]

In the Allhabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, however, we find that the Gupta king reached Mahēndra-giri (of Ganjam) after defeating the king, Mantarāja of Kurāla. We have suggested that Kurāla of this inscription may be identified with the modern town of Kulāḍa in Gumsur taluk of Ganjam.[3] If this identification will stand, then we would further say that the name of Kōlāhalapurapaṭṭaṇa is derived from Kurālapurapaṭṭaṇa, the suffix of *pura* for *paṭṭaṇa* being a later insertion.

We find some similarity in the phrase used in the *Praśastis* of the W. Gaṅgas of Mysore and the E. Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. To prove this aspect, I give below the following passage from their records:—

"Svasti Satyavāka-Kōṅguṇivarmma-Dharma-mahārāja-Kolālapura-varēśvara-Nandagiri-nāthaṃ............ Guṭṭiya-gaṅga-Mārasiṁhadēva......Gaṅgavāḍi......"

The above is quoted from the Habbal Inscription of Mārasiṁhadēva of Mysore.[4]

"...Gangāmala - kula - tilaka - Śrī Nandagiri-nāthaḥ-Kōlāulāpura-paṭṭaṇa-vinirgata...... *Mahārājādhirāja*......Śrī Indravarmadēvaḥ..."[5]

The above is quoted from the grants of Indra-varmadēva of Svētaka. We have mentioned these points while editing two Gaṅga grants.[6]

In the case of the W. Gaṅgas it is stated that they ruled the country of Gaṅgavāḍi from Kulāla or

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[1] *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 448-49 ff.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 32 and *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XVIII, p. 359.

[3] *Ins. Or.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 18—45 ff.

[4] *E. I.*, IV. p. 350 ff.

[5] Nos. 60 and 64 above in Ch. V.

[6] *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXV, (1949), pt. I, pp. 6-7 ff.

Kōlāhalapura, while the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga hailed from 'Kōkalāvalapura or Kōlāhalapura. Hence, we have to consider if the Gaṅgas had come from the south. According to a traditional account of the W. Gaṅgas, they (W. Gaṅgas) migrated from Ayōdhyā. One branch of them lived in Kaliṅga and the other branch proceeded to the South (Mysore), as per inscriptions of a Jaina *guru*, named Siṁhanandī. In this connection, B. Lewis Rice writes—

"The origin of the Gaṅgas is derived from Ikṣvāku and traced back to Ayōdhyāpura. Under Viṣṇugupta the seat of government was moved to Ahichhatra, which it is hinted as Vijayapura".[1] To this is attributed the separation of the two lines of the Eastern and Western Gaṅgas, those of Kaliṅga and Mysore, respectively. With the arrival of Daḍiga and Mādhava in the south, at Gaṅga-Pērur, and the establishment of the Gaṅgavāḍi kingdom in Mysore aided by Siṁhanandī, we seem to come to historical events......".[2]

It is, therefore, not conclusive that the Gaṅgas had come to Kaliṅga from the south. Now, according to our assumption, namely, that Kurāla of the time of Samudragupta might subsequently have been called Kōlāhalapura-paṭṭaṇa, our attention is attracted to the regions of Gumsur taluk in the Ganjam district and its adjoining district of Phulbaṇi, (situated between the countries of Mahākāntāra and the Mahēndra-mountain), which we can identify with the kingdom of Kurāla of the 4th century A. D. That was probably the original homeland of the Gaṅgas, who, afterwards, called it Trikaliṅga. From the inscriptions of

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[1] Vijayapura is the name of a town in Kaliṅga in the time of the Maṭharas (4th—6th centuries A. D.) In Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman, the grant was issued from Vijayapura (vide *E. I.*, XXVIII, p. 175, and *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 13 ff.)

[2] *Ep. Crn.* Vol. VII, *Introduction*, p. 16 ff.

the Sōmavaṁśi kings of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, who ruled the country from Suvarṇapura (the modern Sōnpur in the Bolangir district), we learn that they used the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* for a considerable long period. Presumably, they could capture the Phulbāṇi and Gumsur area as these tracts were contiguous to their kingdom.

It is, however, curious to note that some Jaina sculptures of Gupta style of the 4th century A. D., have been discovered from Phulbāṇi. One of these sculptures (the image of a Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha) is now preserved in the State Museum of Orissa at Bhubaneswar.[1] It is, therefore, quite probable that the Gaṅgas, who embraced Jainism, worshipped these images in the Gupta period in these remote hill tracts of Kaliṅga. The religious conception of the Gaṅgas was subsequently changed from Jainism to Brāhmanism in Kaliṅga, while in Mysore, the original faith remained in tact for a considerable long time. The emblem of the elephant indicates that their religious faith was Jainism. In Kaliṅga, after embracing the Śaivism, they introduced the figure of a bull in the place of an elephant-emblem although in the Bangalore plates of Dēvēndravarman (No. 30) we find an elephant on the royal seal. R. Subba Rao says that "Dr. Fleet, while editing the plates of the latter E. Gaṅgas, identified Gaṅgavāḍi and Kōlāhalapuram, (mentioned in their records) with the kingdoms of the same name founded in Mysore by the W. Gaṅgas, early in the 3rd century A. D. and its capital Kuvalālapuram. But, these identifications are wrong."[2] The reasons given by him in support of his remarks are not as strong as to discredit the opinion of Dr. Fleet. Since the

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[1] According to some scholars, the image is Amoghasiddhi *alias* Buddha.

[2] *History of the Eastern Gaṅgas*, pp. 76-77 ff.

Gaṅgas were originally Jainas they never have expressed their own *gōtra*. Similarly, the Early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga failed to record their *gōtra* in their inscriptions. After the lapse of several centuries, in the time of Vajrahasta and Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅgadēva (the 12th Century A. D.), it is stated that they belonged to the Ātrēya *gōtra*. No doubt it is a latter insertion in the *Vaṁśāvali*, composed by the writers of the *praśasti* of the latter Gaṅgas. Therefore, there is no wonder that while the W. Gaṅgas were described as being Kṣatriyas of the Ikṣvāku lineage and Kāṇvāyana *gōtra*, the E. Gaṅgas were ascribed to the lunar race and Ātrēya *gōtra*. This difference in their *Vaṁśa-praśasti* cannot be taken as a guiding factor to regard them as separate from their parental stock.

The W. Gaṅgas of Mysore seem to have established matrimonial alliance with the Bhauma Karas of Tōsalī. According to Dharākōta plate of Śubhākaradēva,[1] the *Paramasaugata*, his queen, Tribhuvana Mahādēvi, is the daughter of one Rājamalla, who belonged to the family of "Nagōdbhava" or Gaṅgā and an important figure of the southern countries.[2] While editing these plates, I have identified Rājamalla with Rājamalla Satyavāka of the W. Gaṅga family of Mysore. In this connection I like to point out here that Satyavāka Rājamalla had distinguished himself in the battle of Rēmiya and overcome the kings of Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Magadha, Kōśala and Kaliṅga.[3] Satyavāka Rājamalla ruled from 870 A. D.[4] Therefore, he is a contemporary of either Nandavarman of *G. E.* 221 or his successor, Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 254. Anyway, it is quite

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[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 189—194 ff.
[2] "Nagōdbhava-Kula-lalāmabhūtasya, Dakṣiṇāśā-tilakasya, Rājamallasya..."
[3] *Ep. Crn.*, Vol XII, *Intro.*, p. 3.
[4] *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 347, by R. Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar.

clear that the W. Gaṅgas established matrimonial and political contact with the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga and the Bhauma Kara kings of Tōsalī. It is not surprising that a copperplate grant of Dēvēndravarman (vide No. 30) was discovered from Mysore and that the elephant-emblem was adopted in that inscription.

Let us now turn to the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga who were divided into several branches and ruled in different parts of Kaliṅga. So far as we know from their epigraphical records, the Gaṅgas ruled as important royal branches of Dantapura and Kaliṅganagara, situated in the southern parts of the Mahēndra Mountain and from Svētaka in the northern parts of the same mountain. Their inscriptions have been described in the previous chapters, *i. e.*, Chs. IV and V above.

According to some inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅgadēva (1077—1147 A. D.), Kaliṅga was divided into five parts, each of which was ruled by one of the collateral branches of the Gaṅga family. In the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Cōḍagaṅgadēva, statement is made regarding that five brothers came to the Mahēndra-region from Gaṅgavāḍi and ruled over Kaliṅga after portioning it into five parts amongst them namely, (1) Kaliṅga, (2) Kaṇṭhikāvandhurakaṇṭha,[1] (3) Aṁvāvāḍi-Viṣaya, (4) Sōdā Maṇḍala and (5) Kaṇṭaka-Varttinī which were ruled by the five brothers namely, (1) Kāmārṇava, (2) Dānārṇava, (3) Guṇārṇava, (4) Mārasiṁha and (5) Vajrahasta respectively.

This fact is corroborated by the following verse, mentioned in the inscriptions of Vajrahastadēva (1038—70 A. D.) :—

[1] G. V. Sitapati, while editing the Korni plates suggests that *Kaṇṭhikā-vandhurakaṇṭha* should be a necklace borne by the king at the time of his consecration. Thus, it was not a division of Kaliṅga. This view seems incorrect as the number of divisions mentioned in this verse is five.

"Pūrvaṃ bhūpatibhir = vibhajya vasudhā
yā pañcabhiḥ pañcadhā
bhuktvā bhūri-parākramād = bhuja-valāt =
tām = ēka ēva svayaṃ ।
ēkīkṛtya vijitya śatṛnivahān
Śrī Vajrahastas = catuś =
catvāriṁśatam = aty = udāra-caritaḥ
sarvvān = arakṣīt kṣamāḥ ॥"[1]

From this verse of a later period, we understand that the Gaṅgas used to rule in Kaliṅga like the Guptas who adopted the system of ruling their country by distributing the territory among their own brothers. (Sarvēṣu-dēśēṣu vidhāya-gotrīn)

Although the traditional version of the eleventh century speaks that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was originally divided into five parts among the five brothers of the Gaṅga princes, actually we get two collateral branches of the Gaṅgas in Kaliṅga, which are known through epigraphical sources as the branches of Kaliṅganagara and Svētaka. We have copperplate inscriptions, numbering more than sixty (vide Chs. IV and V above), which have been issued from Kaliṅganagara and Svētaka. Therefore, either the above description of five branches was a myth or the information about the other three branches has not yet come to the ken of epigraphy, although the places named Kaṇṭakavarttinī and Aṁbāvādi-*Viṣaya* are known from some epigraphical sources. It is interesting to note here that the royal *praśasti* used in some of the grants is not the same as the *praśastis* found in the grants of either the Kaliṅganagara line or the Svētaka line of these kings. We may, therefore, conclude that a third branch of the Gaṅgas who issued these grants have adopted different type of *praśasti*. For

[1] *E. I.*, IV, p. 183 ff.

want of further evidence, we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion at present on this issue.

Regarding a general description of Kalinga at the time when the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, visited this country, we quote below from Thomas Watter's '*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*', Vol. II, p. 198.

KA-LENG-KA (KALIṄGA)

Returning to the narrative in the Records we read that from *Kung-yu-t'o*, the pilgrim travelled, through jungle and forest dense with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 *li*, to Kaliṅga. This country he describes as above 5000 *li* in circuit, its capital being above twenty *li*. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruit and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of *li*. The country produces dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manner they differed some what from "Mid India." There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethern "Students of the Mahāyānist Sthavīra School system." There were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being *nirgranthas*. This country, the pilgrim relates, had once been very densely inhabited; a holy *ṛishi* possessing supernatural powers had his hermitage in it; he was once offended by a native and cursed the country; as a consequence of his curse the land became, and remained, utterly depopulated. In the lapse of many years since that event it had gradually become inhabited again, but it still had only a scanty population. Near the south-

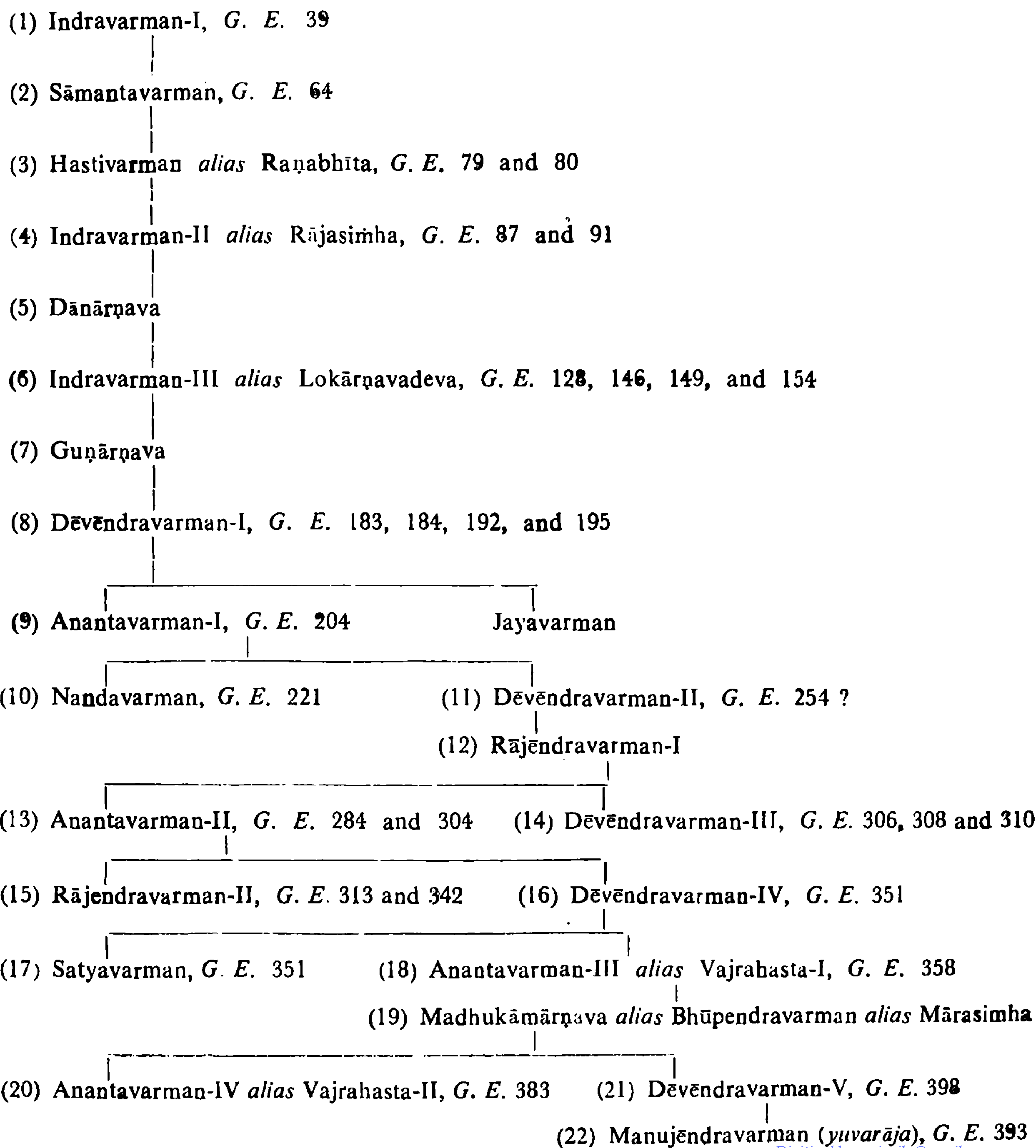
city (*i. e.*, the capital apparently) was
pe beside which were sitting-place and
id of the Four-Past-Buddhas. On a
iountain in the north of the country
-tope, above 100 feet high, where a
ldha had passed away at the beginning
nt *Kalpa* when men's lives extended over
irs."

iis description we find that from the capital
the pilgrim travelled about 1,400 *li* to reach
of Kalinga. From his account, we further
he had to cover about 1,800 *li* towards
st to reach the capital of Kōśala (D. Kōśala).
ie capital of D. Kōśala was some where
odern Raypur town where a large number
ons of the Śarabhapurian kings and the
kings have been discovered. It is thus,
ible that Dantapura was the capital of
n *Yuan Chwang* visited this locality; because,
our calculation, that was the time when
a decade had passed after the Gangas
iis territory. And, up to at least the 39th
auspicious *Ganga-era* Dantapura was the
Kalinga according to No. 1 above.

ital number of copperplates of the early
iscovered up till now, is 65. Out of this
) belong to the line of Kalinganagara and
t of Svētaka. Most of the records of the
give the date as *Gangavamśa-pravarddhamāna-*
-samvatsara. So, it is now possible to get a
enealogy of this line as shown in the next

TABLE I

THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GAṄGAS OF KALIṄGANAGARA

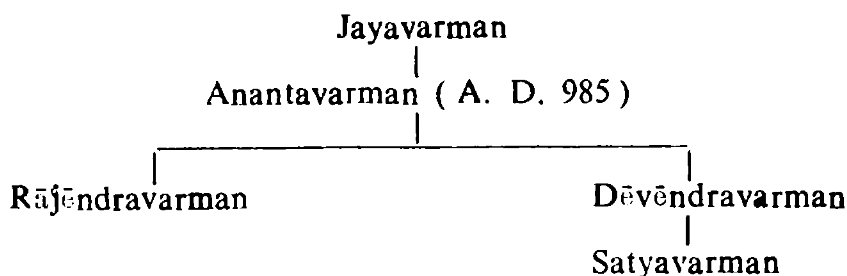


It is necessary to explain as to how this table could be reconciled in spite of grave discrepancies noticed in the Gaṅga Records. For example, from Nos. 7 to 14, we find that the grants were made by Indravarman in *G. E.* 87, 87, 91, 128, 146, 149 and 154 and also in *Tumburu-vaṁśa-saṁvat* 133. But, the grants which have been issued in *G. E.* 87, 87 and 91 mention the second name of the king (Indravarman) as Rājasiṁha. His father's name is not given in any other grant except in Nos. 13 and 14. So, it was not possible to say if the Indravarman of *G. E.* 123 and of Tumburu *era* 133 was one and the same king who issued the grants in *G. E.* 149 and 154, whose father was Dānārṇava. It is, however, certain that the Indravarman of *G. E.* 87 and 91, who possessed a second name of Śrī Rājasiṁha, was not probably the same king Indravarman of the grant, issued in Tumburu *era* 133, whose second name was Śrī Lōkārṇavadēva. On this analogy, we may conclude that the Indravarman, whose grant was issued in the Tumburu *era* 133, is a different king, *i. e.*, Indravarman (II).

Our second difficulty is regarding the Jayapura plates of Rājēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman and grandson of Jayavarman, which plates were noticed by Dr. Burnell with a date corresponding to 985 A. D. (Vide No. 28). The text of the inscription is not available. Thus, we cannot depend upon Burnell's version regarding the relationship between Jayavarman and Anantavarman, the father of Rājēndravarman. Following is the table given by Sewell,[1] who based on Burnell's account :—

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[1] Sewell's *Archaeological Survey of South-India*, Vol. II, p. 183 ff.



When we compare our genealogical table with the above table, we find that it agrees with our table from Anantavarman to Satyavarman except the veriation in the name of Anantavarman's father and his date.

Our third problem relates to the date of Dēvēndravarman, the son of Anantavarman, (No. 3) and that of Satyavarman (No. 36), who is the son of Dēvēndravarman. The dates in these two inscriptions (Nos. 3 and 36) were wrongly put by the engraver as *G. E.* 51 for *G. E.* 351. This mistake was known from the phraseological terms used in their *Praśasti* which definitely belong to the *Praśasti* of the later stage of development. Dr. Fleet says—

"These grants of Dēvēndravarman and Satyavarman are shown by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later date than the three grants of Indravarman. Consequently, the fifty-first year which is quoted in one of the grants of Dēvēndravarman and the grant of his son, Satyavarman, cannot be referred to the same epoch with the date of 91, 128 and 146 of Indravarman. And partly because of this, and partly because in each instance the year is mentioned without any specification of the month and the lunar day, I am inclined to look upon it as some conventional expression, which cannot be just now explained, and to consider that only the year 254, in connection with which we have the specification of both the month and the lunar day, is a correct date for

Dēvēndravarman, and that it may be referred to the same *era* with the date of Indravarman whatever that *era* might be."[1]

It is interesting to point out here that in *G. E.* 351 there occurred two solar eclipses. During the first eclipse, Dēvēndravarman issued his grant and after his death in the same year his son, Satyavarman, issued another grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas during the second eclipse. If the Gaṅga *era* started from 626-27 A. D. then, the year 351 will correspond to (626-27+351 =) 977-78 A. D. During this period the first solar eclipse occurred on the day of Pauṣa Amāvāśyā, corresponding to the 13th day of December, 977 A. D., while the second eclipse occurred on the Āṣāḍha Amāvāśyā, corresponding to the 8th day of June, 978 A. D. It, therefore, proves that the Gaṅga *era* must have started some time between the months and *tithis* of Pauṣa Amāvāśyā and Āṣāḍha Amāvāśyā. Thus, we should look for the months of Śrāvaṇa, Bhādrapada, Āśvina, Kārtika and Mārgaśira for the commencement of the new year of the Gaṅga *era*. We have suggested Bhādrapada Śukla Dvādaśī, or the day of '*Suniyā*' as the starting point of the Gaṅga *era*.[2]

Now, regarding the genealogical table, after Satyavarman, we face some pertinent difficulties.

1. In some records, the name of the king is given as Vajrahasta and, in other records, he is called Anantavarman.
2. Madhu Kāmārṇava seems to be the same king whose name occurs in some inscriptions as Bhūpēndravarman.
3. Manujēndravarman, the son of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 397, had the title of *Mahārāja* instead

[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273—276 ff.
[2] Vide Appx--I.

of *Yuvarāja* in 393 Gaṅga *era*, when his father was alive.

The most important and difficult portion of the chronology of the Gaṅgas is the genealogical account mentioned in the copperplate grants of *Mahārāja* Vajrahastadēva, whose reign commenced in Kaliṅga from Ś. 960, or the 3rd day of December, 1038 A. D. The following verse is repeated in all his copperplate grants [1] discovered till now:—

"Viyad – ṛtu-nidhi-saṁkhyāṃ
yāti Śākāvda-saṁghē
dinakṛti-vṛṣabhasthē
rōhiṇī-bhē sulagnē ।

dhanuṣi ca sita-pakṣē
sūryya-vārē tṛtīyā
yuji-sakala-dharitrīṃ
rakṣituṃ yō'bhiṣiktaḥ ॥ " [2]

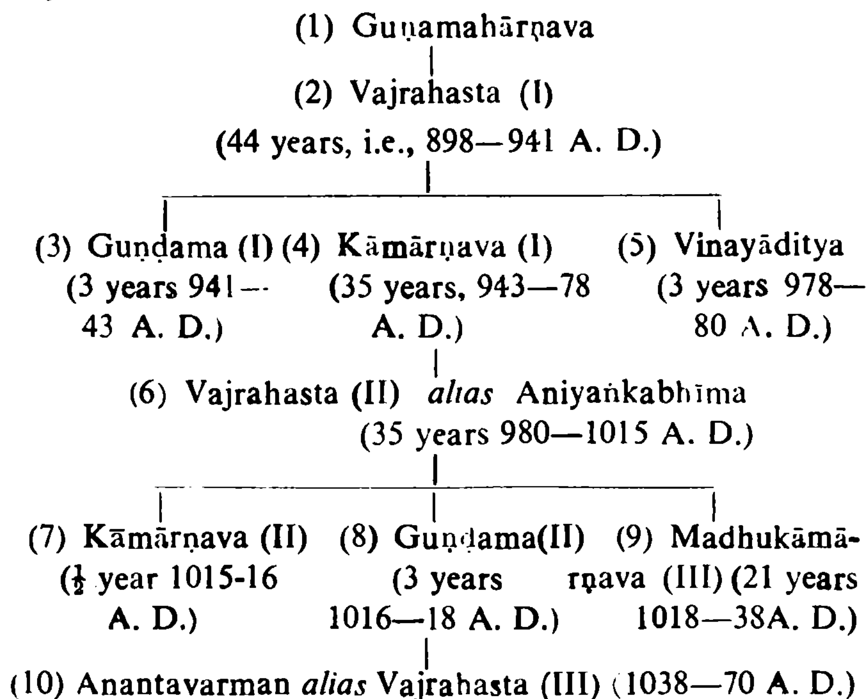
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[1] (*a*) Narsipattam plates of Ś. 967 (vide *E. I.*, XI, p. 149 ff.)
(*b*) Srikakulam plates of Ś. 971 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 163 ff.)]
(*c*) Nadagam plates of Ś. 979 (*E. I.*, IV, p. 183 ff.)
(*d*) Chikalavalasa plates of Ś. 982 (*E. I.*, XXI, Inc. No. 1252)
(*e*) Boḍḍapāḍu plates of Ś. 982 (*Bhārati*, Telgu Journal, Vol. III, p. 83.)
(*f*) Madras Museum plates of Ś. 984 (*E. I.*, IX, p. 96 ff.)
(*g*) Ganjam plates of 991 (*E. I.*, XXIII, p. 70 ff.)

[2] According to N. Ramesan, it corresponds to the 9th April, 1038 A. D. (*Vide J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 173). But, M. Narasimham differs from it (*Vide J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 169). According to G. V. Ramamurti, it corresponds to the 3rd of May, A. D. 1038, 8 *h*. 27 *m* P. M. (Vide *E. I.*, IV, p. 185 ff.)

TABLE II

The genealogy given in his inscriptions is shown below :—



We find a clue from the above table to link it with our table. It is the name of Madhukāmārṇava who is also known as Bhūpēndravarman in the former table. He lived in the period between the kings Anantavarman of *G. E.* 358 and Vajrahasta of *G. E.* 383, which dates correspond to 984-85 A. D. and 1009-10 A. D. respectively. But, according to our second table, Madhukāmārṇava ruled from 1018—38 A. D. As such, we are not able to explain the position regarding the chronology after Satyavarman. But, in any way, it is interesting to note that instead of the Gaṅga *era*, Dharmakhēḍi, in No. 35, used an unknown *era* called *Gaṅga-Kadamva-Vaṁśa-Pravardhamāna-Saṁvatsara*, 520 and in No. 41, although the name of the *era* is recorded as *Gaṅga-Vaṁśa-Pravardhamāna-Vijayarājya-saṁvatsara*, it

 seems to be the same Gaṅga-Kadamba *era* which was used in Dharmakhēḍi's charter. Therefore, we cannot take these dates as equal to the Gaṅga *era*. After *G. E.* 342, or even before, for some unknown reason, the continuity of the family *era* of the Gaṅgas was disturbed. So, in some later records we get no *era* at all and, in some other records, we get different *eras* namely *Gaṅga-Kadamba-era* and *Śaka-era*. The latter is mentioned in Nos. 38, 48, 49, 50, 51 and 52. Most probably, the suzerain power of the Gaṅgas was curtailed during this period for which reason they could not use their family *era*, although they used some additional titles intermittently, indicating thir resistance from external overlordship.

For the first time in the history of the Gaṅgas, *Mahārāja* Vajrahastadēva (1038—70 A. D.) introduced the Śaka *era* in the place of the Gaṅga *era*. He also made a drastic change in the royal-*praśasti* and began to narrate the *Vaṁśāvali* like his contemporaries, the Cōlas and the Cālukyas.

In Andhavaram plates of Vajrahastadēva (No. 44), we note the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* in addition to the usual title of his predecessors, namely *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati*. But, in Narsipaṭṭam plates of Śakāvda 967 Vajrahasta, grandfather of Cōḍagaṅga, used the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. He also used the same titles in other subsequent grants issued by him.

In Vajrahasta's grants, we find the verse quoted before which gives us a clue to determine why suddenly the status of the Gaṅgas improved.

It is not possible at present to say that Vajrahasta, in No. 43, who introduced the titles of *Mahārājādhi-rāja* and *Paramēśvara* is the same Vajrahasta who united all the fragments of the dominion, as

expressed in one of the verses of his *Praśasti*. It is, however, quite possible that there was no harmony and co-operation between the Gaṅgas of the different lines, then living in Kaliṅga. Probably, that was the reason why the Gaṅgas of Svētaka were inclined to take friendly alliance with the family of the Bhauma-Karas of Tōṣalī, and used, for a short time, the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

The Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi seem to have made some political contact with the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. Hence, the latter had become involved with the affairs of that territory.

From the Masulipatam plates of the E. Cālukya king, Āmma (I) (A. D. 918—25), we learn that he ruled a portion of Trikaliṅga [1]. After this, according to Kōlavennu grant of Cālukya Bhīma (II), the king Bhīma (II) used the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. Thus, the E. Cālukyas troubled the Gaṅgas from the south, while at the same time the Sōmavaṁśi kings of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala attacked a portion of Kaliṅga from the west. Thus, the country of Trikaliṅga remained disintegrated from Kaliṅga proper and passed from hand to hand and from one family to another. Not only the E. Cālukyas and the Sōmavaṁśi kings but also some Cēdi kings used the same title.

The E. Cālukya king, Āmmā (II) (A. D. 945—70) fought with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛiṣṇā (III) during his 12th regnal year (*i. e.*, A. D. 957). From the Cālukyan records, we learn that Āmmā (II) proceeded to Kaliṅga apointing his brother, Dānārṇava, as his regent in Veṅgi. [2]

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[1] *E. I. IV*, p. 131 ff.

[2] *C. P.* No. 15 of *Mad. E. R.* for. 1916-17 *A. R. M. E.* 1917-18 App. 'A', No. 1, *G. O.* No. 1035 (Home), dated 10-8-1917, page 8 ff.

We get no information regarding any matrimonial relationship between the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the E. Cālukyas of Veṅgi. But, it is quite certain that they had political alliance for some reason or other. During that troubled period in Veṅgi, the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga have not only given shelter to Āmmā (II) who boasted of having ruled over Trikaliṅga, but also fought against his enemies to save him from the troubles.

In the year 970 A. D., Āmmā (II) died and Dānārṇava succeeded him. The latter ruled only for three years. At this juncture, one Bāḍaparāja, a collateral aspirant for the Cālukyan throne, started revolt in co-operation with his friend, Jaṭācōlabhīma, who killed Dānārṇava of Veṅgi and Kāmārṇava of Kaliṅga. In this connection, the following verses from the Kancipuram stone inscription of Jaṭācōlabhīma may be quoted :—

"Citrṃ sudūram-api cāru-ku—U mantaṃ
Kāmārṇavaṁ=divam- a—UU—U—bhūt |
Vyaktaṃ vyasisma-pata—stvati vaiparītyā
Kāmārṇavaṃ bhuvinayan UU--U— —
U—UUU— -- – t Vinayād=anya-bhūpatīḥ |
U—UUU sa Śrīmān Jaṭācōlabhīma-nṛpati........."

It is stated that after killing Nṛipakāma (Kāmārṇava) and Dānarṇava in or about 973-74 A. D., Jaṭācōla started an expedition against Kaliṅga, where he killed in the battle field the (Gaṅga) king Kāmārṇava. Now, the question is, who that Nṛipakāma was whom Jaṭācōla killed in the battle ? He may be either Madhukāmārṇava of No. 41 who lived in between *G. E.* 358 and 384 or A. D. 984-985 and 1009-1010, as shown in the first genealogical table, or

[1] *E. I.*, XXXI, pp. 20–34 ff; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 17–60.

Kāmārṇava (I) of the second table who reigned from 943–78 A. D. [1]

Like many royal families of the South, the downfall of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara had became unavoidable during the 11th century A. D. and that must have happened long before Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 398 and of *S'akāvda* 988, 1003, 1005 and 1012 (Vide Nos. 48, 49, 50, 51 and 52), who was a *Mahārājādhirāja.* We are not able to trace what happened to his (Dēvēndravarman's) son, Manujēndravarman, of *G. E.* 393 or A. D. 1019-1020 (Vide No. 48) who used the same title. But, it is quite certain that the line of Vajrahasta and his son, Rājarāja, and grandson, Anantavarma Cōḍagaṅgadēva, gained upper-hand in Kaliṅga and ruled the country from Kaliṅganagara which was situated on the northern bank of the Vaṁśadhārā near Mukhaliṅga. Although the second name of Rājarāja (son of Vajrahasta) is Dēvēndravarman,[2] we cannot identify him with the Dēvēndravarman whose name occurs in Nos. 49—52 above. The reason is that Dēvēndravarman of Nos. 48—52 reigned at least between the years 1023—1090 A. D., while Dēvēndravarman—Rājarāja ruled only for eight years, *i. e.*, from A. D. 1070 to 1077. Therefore, we believe that the line of Dēvēndravarman of Nos. 48—52 must be a separate one from that of Cōḍagaṅga.

Most probably, the senior branch of the Gaṅgas was driven back from Kaliṅganagara to some remote area called Ōḍra. For, in a stone inscription of

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[1] There is a divergence of opinion regarding the identification of Kāmārṇava. According to Subrahmanya Aiyar, he is identical with Madhukāmārṇava who reigned from 1019---1038 A. D. His view was opposed by B. V. Krishna Rao. According to Mr. Rao, it is Kāmārṇava (I) (A.D. 943---78) who was killed by Jaṭācōla (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 35 ff.)

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 171—176 ff.

Drākṣārām in the East Gōdāvarī district, we find an account relating to some achievements made by one Pallavarāja who fought on behalf of his master Rājēndracōḍa (the Cōda king) in Kalinga and Ōḍra where he defeated one Dēvēndravarman, surely a Ganga Prince. The verse in that inscription runs as quoted below :—

Bhasmīkṛtya Kalingadēśam = akhilaṃ
nirjjitya Gāngān raṇē
bhaṃktvā Kōśala-khaṇḍapāla-nivahair =
Dēvēndravarmādikān ।
Vīraḥ Pallavarāja ity = abhihitō
Rājēndracōḍa-prabhō
Kīrtty = uttambham = iv = Ōḍra-sandhiṣu jaya-
stambhaṃ ṣubhaṃ nyakṣipat ॥ [1]

TRANSLATION

"Reducing to ashes the whole of the Kalinga country, subduing the Gangas in the battle field and destroying the chiefs, Dēvēndravarman and others and the chieftains of the Kōśala tract, this hero named Pallavarāja set up a fine pillar of victory on the borders of the Ōḍra (country) as if raising aloft the fame of his lord, Rājēndracōḍa". [2]

This stone inscription containing the above verse was incised in the 33rd regnal year of Kulōttunga Rājēndra whose reign commenced in Śakāvda 992 or A. D. 1070. Thus, the time of Dēvēndravarman is 1102 A. D. [3]

The Gangas of Kalinganagara and the Kadambas had matrimonial relationship amongst themselves although the latter kings lived in Kalinga as the subordinate

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1239, pp. 428-29 ff.

[2] According to K. V. Subramanya Aiyar, it is also mentioned in the *Kalingattuparāṇi*, a Tamil Work. So, he identifies Dēvēndravarman with Rājarāja (E. I. XXII, p. 138 ff.)

[3] *Encyclopaedia of the Madras Presidency and Adjacent States*, p. 55 ff.

princes under the Gaṅgas and used the titles of *Pañca-Viṣayādhipati* and *Rāṇaka*. In some rcords, they used the title of *Mahā Maṇḍalēśvara*. The region of the Mahēndra Mountain in Ganjam was under their possession, and they ruled the country from Jayantipura which may be identified with the village of the same name, now situated in the Chikaṭi Taluk of the Ganjam District. Most of their grants were issued from Mahēndrabhōga *viṣaya* which was a very old district in Kaliṅga. The same *viṣaya* is found in Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman.[1] In No. 35, the title *Mahēndrādhipati* is used by Dharmakhēḍi.

Following is the genealogical table of the Kadambas of Kaliṅga :—

(1) Niyārṇava
|
(2) Bhīmakhēḍi
|
(3) Dharmakhēḍi
|
(4) Ugrakhēḍi
|
(5) Udayakhēḍi *alias* Udayāditya.

The emblem which they used in their grants is *Matsya* (fish). We are not quite sure of their original home-land from which they migrated to Kaliṅga. According to Somasekhara Sarma, they (Kadambas) came from Hāṅgal and Goā in the Dharwar district of the Mahārāṣṭra where a branch of the Kadambas lived.[2] We are inclined to accept this suggestion of Mr. Sarma; because, their family god was Jayanti Madhukēśvara (Viṣṇu), whose name was popular in Mysore where Banavāsi was situated and also the Gaṅgas and

[1] *E. I.*, XXVI, pp. 132—35 ff; *Ins. Or.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 7.
[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pts. 1 & 2, pp. 117 ff.

Kadambas lived side by side. It is also known that the capital of the Kadambas at Hāṅgal was Virāṭapura.[1] According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Virāṭas ruled in a country known as Matsyadēśa. Probably, that was the reason why the Matsya emblem was adopted by the Kadambas of Kaliṅga which was originally introduced by the Virāṭas of Hāṅgal or Virāṭapura.

The names of the Kadamba chiefs are found in Nos. 24, 35, 38, 40, 45 and 50. In No. 61, we find the name of one Nāgakhēḍi, who, on account of his name, might have belonged to the same Kadamba family. He was a *Dūtaka* and *Mahāsāmanta* under Indravarman of the Svētaka line of the Gaṅgas. It proves that the Kadambas lived under the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and that of Svētaka, as responsible officers and subordinate chiefs.

We give below a list of the officers with their names and designations who served under the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara :—

I. The *Sandhivigrahikas*—

(1) Dēvasiṃhadēva . . . . *G. E.* 39
(2) Raṇāmēya, son of Sāmirāja *G. E.* 342 (No. 35)
(3) Vējika ?
(4) Sāmapuna ?

II. *Rahasikas*—

(1) Saṅkaradēva *G. E.* 128
(2) Durgadēva *G. E.* 254
(3) Dugapa . . *G. E.* 304
(4) Sarvacandra . . *G. E.* 308
(5) Vīrapa, son of Khaṇḍyama *G. E.* 351
(6) Cīḍapa ; son of Khaṇḍyama *G. E.* 393

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Pt. i., p. 558.

III. *Akṣaśālins*—

(1) Āditya Māñci, son of Vinayacandra *G. E.* 128

(2) *Bhōgika* .. *G. E.* 146

(3) Khaṇḍicandra, son of Ādityabhōgī *G. E.* 149—154

(4) Sarvacandra, son of Khaṇḍicandra *Bhōgi* *G. E.* 183

(5) *Bhōgi* *G. E.* 195

(6) Nāṭi Māñci's son *G. E.* 204

(7) Mātṛcandra *G. E.* 216

(8) *Śrī-Sāmanta* *G. E.* 254

(9) Nāraṇa *G. E.* 304

(10) Khaṇḍimalla *G. E.* 306

(11) *Śrī-Sāmanta* Khaṇḍimalla *G. E.* 308

(12) *Śrī-Sāmanta* .. ?

(13) *Kanakādhirāja*-Guṇḍi Pilaka, son of Mātṛcandra *G. E.* 342

(14) Sarvadēva *G. E.* 351

(15) Napa .. *G. E.* 358

(16) Mahindapāka, son of Vīyana *G. E.* ?

(17) Khāṇiju

It is interesting to note here that Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra, whose name is recorded in the first known inscription of the Gaṅgas, *i. e.* in *G. E.* 28, continued to hold his office up to *G. E.* 91. Thus, it is clear that he was in the service at least for 63 years under the Gaṅgas. In no record had he given his designation as *Akṣaśālin* ; but, his son and successor Āditya Māñci called himself as *Akṣaśālin.* We give

below a genealogical table of this officer's family from Bhānucandra onwards :—

(1) Bhānucandra
|
(2) Vinayacandra (*G. E.* 28—91)
|
(3) Āditya Mañci *Bhōgi* (*G. E.* 128—146)
|
(4) Khaṇḍicandra (*G. E.* 149—154)
|
(5) Sarvacandra (*G. E.* 183)
|
(6) Nāṭi Mañci (*G. E.* 204)
|
(7) Mātṛcandra (*G. E.* 216)
|
(8) Nāraṇa (*G. E.* 304)   (9) Guṇḍi Pilaka (*G. E.* 342) (*Kanakādhirāja*)
|
(10) Sarvadēva (*G. E.* 351)
|
(11) Napa (*G. E.* 358)
|
(12) Mahindapāka („)
|
(13) Khāṇiju (?)

From their family titles, namely *Candra*, *Mañci*, *Bhōgi*, *Pilaka*, *Dēva* and *Pāka*, it is supposed that they were the followers of Jainism and belonged to a South Indian group. We are not aware of their actual relationship after No. 43.

IV. *Amātyas*—

(1) Dēvacandra, father of *Rāhasika* Saṅkaradēva ... (*G. E.* 128)

(2) Ṅkīkaṭa, father of *lekhaka* Bhavadatta (*G. E.* 146)

V. *Lekhakas*—

(1) Srēṣṭha Prabhākara (*G. K. E.* 133)

(2) Bhavadatta, son of Ṅkīkaṭa, the *Amātya* ... (G. E. 146)
(3) Pallavacandra, son of Mātṛcandra of Apūrvanaṭa family ... (G. E. 183—192)
(4) Madanāṅkura Pallava, son of Mātṛcandra of Eraṇḍapalli, who belonged to the Apūrvanaṭa familly (G. E. 195)
(5) *Gaṅgōpādhyāya* ... (G. E. 216)
(6) Ugradēva, son of *Rahasya* Durgadēva ... (G. E. 254)
(7) *Śri-Sāmanta* Sarvacandra* ... (?)
(8) *Rāhasika* Sarvacandra * (G. E. 308)
(9) *Śri-Sāmanta* Sarvacandra * .. (G. E. 310)
(10) Sāmirāja (G. E. 313)
(11) Sarvadēva (G. E. 383)
(12) Madhupa (?)

VI. *Mahāmahattara* or *Mahattara*—
(1) Gaurī Śarman (G. E. 146)
(2) Hari Śarman (G. E. 154)
(3) Savara Nandi Śarman (G. E. 183—192)

VII. *Sarvādhikṛta*—
(1) Sāṁvapurōpādhyāya, son of *Hastyadhyakṣa* Dharmacandra (G. E. 149-154)

VIII. *Hastyadhyakṣa*—
(1) Dharmacandra (G. E. 149—154)

IX. *Adhikṛta*—
(1) Nāgana, son of Śaṅkara (G. E. 195)

X. *Sthānādhikṛta*—
(1) Vipra Sōmācārya (G. E. 254)

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* It is to be noted here that Sarvacandra might have been promoted either from the position of *Sri-Sāmanta* to *Rāhasika* or *vice-versa.* Anyway, in Nos. 31-32, the officer is the same person. Because in No. 32, the writer has not given the date of the inscription, we are not able to detect whether his title of *Rāhasika* comes first or that of *Sri-Sāmanta.*

XI. *Purōhitas*—

(1) Charampa Nandi Śarman (*G. E.* 195)

(2) Ādityadēva (*G. E.* 254)

XII. *Śrī-Sāmantas*—

(1) Khaṇḍimalla (?)

(2) Sarvacandra (*G. E.* 308—312)

(3) Nāgarāja (*G. E.* 351)

XIII. *Sāmantas*—

(1) Nalacaṇḍāla (?)

XIV. *Mantrin*—

(1) Vachayya of the Kāyastha caste (?)

XV. *Mahāsandhivigrahin*—

(1) Drōṇācārya (?)

XVI. *Sandhivigrahin*—

(1) Sāmapuna (?)

XVII. *Daṇḍanāyaka*—

(1) Śrī Maḍapa Bhīma ... (?)

THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GAṄGAS OF SVĒTAKA

(1) Jayavarmadēva (*G. E.* 100 and Saṁvat 50)
Qn. Trikaliṅga Mahādēvi

|

(2) Gaṅgakavilāsa

|

(3) Bhūpēndravarman

|

(4) Anantavarman (*Saṁvat* 79 ?)
Qn. Śrīvāsa-Bhaṭṭārikā

|

(5) Mahindravarmadēva

|

(6) Pṛthivīvarmadēva

|

(6) Gaṅga-Svayaṁbhū *Qn.* Śrī Elā | (7) Indravarmadēva | (8) Dānārṇava

|

(9) Sāmantavarman [(*Saṁvat* 173 and 185)

From a careful study of the grants, issued by the Gaṅgas of Svētaka, we find that the earliest known king of this family is Jayavarmadēva who started his career as a *Mahārāja* under the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara, by using the *Gaṅga era* and an inferior title as *Rāṇaka*. But, in his second and third grants (Nos. 54 and 55) he used the title of *Mahārāja*.

It is necessary to give here a short note regarding the political condition of Kaliṅga and Kōṅgada at that time. After the decline of the Śailōdbhas of Kōṅgada, the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara seem to have annexed the territory of Kōṅgada and used the glorious title of *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati*. This was accomplished some time before *G. E.* 79 (705-06 A. D.) It was then found necessary to create an outpost between Kaliṅga and Kōṅgada for their own safety. So, Jayavarmadēva was posted in Svētaka as a *Rāṇaka* under the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara in or about 100 Gaṅga *era*. A few years after this, the Bhauma-kara kings, who probably migrated from Assam (Sālasthambha family), captured the country of Tōṣalī and advanced their sway as far south as the river Ṛiṣikulyā in Ganjam. They used their own family *era* which we call the "*Bhauma era*". It was started in 736 A. D.[1] It is presumed that there was contest between the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and the Bhauma-karas for subjugation of Kōṅgada and Svētaka. During that period of conflict, Jayavarmadēva of Svētaka gave up the title of *Rāṇaka* and used that of *Mahārāja*, establishing an alliance with the Bhaumas. In No. 56, it is stated that Jaya-varman granted a village in Kōṅgada Maṇḍala after obtaining permission from Unmattakeśari, the first known Bhauma king of Tōṣalī. By doing so, he must

[1] For the starting point of this *era* please refer to my article, published in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 100—108 ff.

have become hostile to the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, under whom he was formerly a *Rāṇaka.* The hostility between these two branches of the Gaṅgas (Kaliṅga-nagara and Svētaka) continued for some years to come. The Gaṅgas of Svētaka, who established alliance with the Bhaumas, must have received necessary help from the latter. Actually, Unmattakeśari's successor, Śubhākaradēva of the Bhauma family subjugated the region of Kaliṅga. This event is recorded in the Tālacēra plate of Śivakaradēva.[1] We have quoted two relevant verses of this inscription in Appendix-I while discussing about the Gaṅga *era.* In Kāṭhmāṇḍu inscription of the Bhaumas of Assam, we find that one Harṣadēva of the family of Bhagadatta (Bhauma) claims to have conquered Gauḍa, Ōḍra, Kaliṅga and Kōśala.[2] Therefore, it seems that due to the interference of the Bhaumas from the north-east direction, the Gaṅgas of Svētaka found an opportunity to make themselves free from the grips of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara.

After Jayavarmadēva, his successor, Bhūpēndra-varman, obtained the power of suzerainty and used the glorious titles of *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka.* After him, his successor, Ananta-varman, also used the same titles, although he recorded in his grant a *Saṁvat* instead of *Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara* or the Gaṅga *era.* It is no other than the Bhauma *era* which was used in No. 56 by Jayavarmadēva. I suggest that the *Saṁvat* 79, recorded in the grant of Ananta-varman (No. 58), corresponds to A. D. 736 plus 79 = 815 A. D.

After Anantavarmadēva, his descendants, Pṛithivī-varmadēva and Indravarmadēva, retained the same

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[1] Pandit B. Misra's "*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*", p. 41 f.

[2] *I. A.*, Vol. IX, p. 178 ff.

titles of suzerainty. But, he (Indravarman) towards the middle part of his reign, discontinued these titles and used only *Mahārāja* in Nos. 60, 61 and 62 for some reasons not yet known. But, he regained the former status towards the end of his rule as we see from No. 63. So, his younger brother, Dānārṇava, used all these glorious titles in a conventional manner, while he could not give up his inferior title of *Rāṇaka* in the grant No. 64. Again, his successor, Sāmanta-varman, did not use any title at all in No. 65. But, in No. 66 (Sāmantavarman) used the glorious title of *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati* like his contemporary Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅganagara. Sāmantavarman gave his grants (Nos. 65 and 66) in *Saṁvat* 173 and 185, which should be the same *Bhauma Saṁvat*, found in Nos. 56 and 58. Therefore, his (Sāmantavarma's) time is to be fixed at (736 plus 185=) 921 A. D.

Now, we give a list of the names of officers which offers a clue to determine the chronological position of the kings of Svētaka in the next page.

Name of the kings and titles	Officers	Date, if any
Jayavarman (*Rāṇaka*)	Vimalacandra	*G. E.* 100
Do (*Mahārāja*)	(1) *Dūtaka-Mahāsāmanta* Purṇadēva	
	(2) Vicitrahasta..............	?
Do (Do)	Subhavandin..............	?
Do (Do)	Bhaṭṭa Nannaṭa Mahattara, the donee of Vatsa *gōtra*	*Saṁvat* 50
Gaṅgakavilāsa |	(1) Aśōkadatta	
Bhūpēndravarman (*Mahārāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*)	(2) Vimalacandra..............	?
Anantavarman (*M. P. P.*)[1]	(1) Aśōkadatta	
	(2) Gōvindadēva	
	(3) *Mahādēvi* Śrīvāsabhaṭṭārikā	
	(4) Mahindrabhīma..........	*Saṁvat* 79
	(5) Nanaṭaśarman of Vatsa *gōtra*	
Mahindravarmadēva |		
Pṛthivīvarmadēva (*M. P. P.*)	(1) *Śri-Sāmanta* Svayaṁbhū...........	?

Pṛthivīvarman

King	Officers / persons named	Date
Gaṅga Svayaṁbhū, *Qn.* Śrī Elā / Indravarman (*M. P. P.*)	(1) Svayaṁbhū, [2] son of Napa	
	(2) *Śrī-Gōsvāminī*	
Indravarman (*Mahārāja*)	(1) *Mahāsāmanta* Nāgakhēḍi	
	(2) *Mahāpratihāra* Ādityavarman	
	(3) *Mahāsāndhivigrahin* Chandapāka	
	(4) Dēva Pilāka	
Indravarman (*Mahārāja*)	(1) Padmacandra	
Pṛithivīvarman		
Indravarman (*M. P. P.*)	(1) Svayaṁbhū, son of Napa	
	(2) *Mahādēvī Gōsvāminī*, the *Paramavaiṣṇavī*	
Pṛthivīvarman		
Dānārṇavadēva (*M.P.P.*) & *Rāṇaka*	(1) Dāmōdara	
	(2) Dhanadatta	
	(3) Padmacandra.........	?
Sāmantavarman (?)		
Do (*Mahārāja* and *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati*	....	*Saṁvat* 185
Do (?)	(1) Uṁvaradēva	
	(2) Padmacandra......	*Saṁvat* 173

[1] *Mahārāja Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*

[2] We find one Napa, designated as *Akṣaśālin or* engraver of No. 37 which is a grant of Saṁvat 358.

From the above list we find that the writer of the grant of Jayavarmadēva is Vimalacandra who appears in the grant of Bhūpēndravarman, son of Gaṅgakavilāsa (No. 56) as the engraver. He belonged to the caste of *Kaṅsāra* or smith. Then again, the donee in No. 56 of Jayavarmadēva, whose name is recorded as Bhaṭṭa Nannaṭa *Mahattara* of Vatsa *gōtra*, Vājasaneya-caraṇa, Kāṇva *śākhā* and Vatsa-Darda-Bhṛgu etc., Pañca ṛiṣi *anupravara*, happens to be the donee in No. 58 which is the grant of Anantavarman. Therefore, Bhūpēndravarman and Anantavarman must have lived within a short time after Jayavarmadēva. To corroborate this, we may cite the name of Aśōkadatta which is found in the grants of Bhūpēndravarman and Anantavarman (Vide Nos. 57 and 58).

Then comes Pṛthivīvarman, son of Mahindravarman, in whose grant (No. 59) we get the name of the engraver as Svayambhū. The same engraver appears again in the grant of Indravarman, son of Pṛithivī-varman (Nos. 60 and 63). Finally, we get the name of Padmacandra in the grant of Indravarman (No. 62) as well as in the grants of his successor, Sāmanta-varman in Nos. 65 and 66.

The last known inscription of the Gaṅgas of Svētaka is dated in *Saṁvat* (Bhauma *era*) 185 (No. 67) which corresponds to (736 plus 185) = 921 A. D. The first known inscription of this line is dated in *G. E.* 100 (No. 53) or (626-27 plus 100) = 726-27 A. D. Thus, all these inscriptions of the Svētaka-Gaṅgas should range from 726-27 A. D. to 921 A. D.

In the time of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and Svētaka the country was divided into several divisions for the purpose of administration. A list of them is given in the next page.

I. The Divisions under the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara :—

(1) Boṅkhāra bhōga, (2) Dāgha Pañcāli, (3) Varāha-varttanī *, (4) Kōṣṭrakavarttanī, (5) Dēva-Pañcāli, (6) Kōrāṣōḍaka Pañcāli *, (7) Kurakarāṣṭra, (8) Rupyavati viṣaya, (9) Puṣyagiri Pañcāli, (10) Pharēya bhukti, (11) Dēvadamadavam viṣaya, (12) Tirikaṭu viṣaya, (13) Puṣkariṇī viṣaya, (14) Lōhasṛṅga, (15) Kṛṣnamaṭaṁva, (16) Mahēndra bhōga viṣaya, (17) Galēla viṣaya, (18) Kaṇṭakavarttanī viṣaya, (19) Laṅkākōṇa, (20) Cikhali Pañcāli, (21) Raṁjumara viṣaya, (22) Kōluvarttanī, (23) Bhiliṅga bhōga.

II. The Divisions under the Gaṅgas of Svētaka:—

(1) Khalugakhaṇḍa viṣaya, (2) Aṇḍadāsṛṅga viṣaya, (3) Sāmanta bhukti viṣaya *, (4) Janōra viṣaya, (5) Oḍayasṛṅga viṣaya, (6) Jalaṁvōra viṣaya, (7)Hēmaka-maṭaṁva viṣaya, (8) Hallaṁvara viṣaya, (9) Jayaḍā viṣaya, (10) Hāmani bhōga viṣaya, (11) Lōhasṛṅga viṣaya.

CULTURE AND RELIGION UNDER THE GAṄGAS

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were the followers of Śaivism which was very popular in this country from about the 6th century A. D., when Anantavarman of the Maṭhara family for the first time called himself as a *Paramamāhēśvara* [1]. Then, the Śailōdbhava King Mādhavarāja of Kōṅgada adopted the same title in the first quarter of the 7th century A. D.[2] The Śailōdbhavas had their religious centre on the top of the Mahēndra mounatin in Ganjam. The Gaṅgas who came after the Māṭharas established their family-god, Gōkarṇēśvara, on the same mountain. All the Gaṅga

* The Star-marked divisions are also found in the inscriptions of the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga.

[1] *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I. Pt. ii, p. 31 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 163 ff.

copperplate grants sing the glory of the Mahēndra mountain along with their family-god, Gōkarṇēśvara.

It is interesting to note here that Mādhavarāja Śailōdbhava, in his Khurda plates claimed himself as an author of *Kāvyas* and *Dharmaśāstras*, as seen from the passage quoted below :

"Bhagavan = Mahēśvara-caraṇa - yugalaika - śaraṇaḥ, śaiśava ēva vidyā-catuṣṭay-ābhyās = ōnmīlita-sahaja-prajñ-ātiśay = āvagata-samast = ārtha-tatvaḥ, sva-mata-viracit = āty = adbhuta - kāvy = ārtha-vōdhanaik - kāryya-saṁgṛhita-vidvan = mugdha-jana-samūhō...... "*

Most probably, the renowned *Smṛiti* writer, Mādhava, who has been identified with Mādhava-varman of the W. Gaṅga family of Mysore, should be no other than this Mādhavavarman-Śailodbhava of Kōṅgada.

During the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, a renowned compiler of *Nyāya*,[1] a Buddhist philosopher named Dharmakīrtti was living in Kaliṅga. There is a stone inscription on the outer wall of a temple, standing on the top of a hill near the villages of Padmapur and Jagamanda in the Gunupur taluk of the district of Koraput (Orissa), where the name of Dharmakīrtti is written. The inscription is a short one containing only two lines of writing. There are some small caves at the foot of this hill which might have been used by some Buddhist monks in the time of Dharmakīrtti.

According to Mr. Beal, Dharmakīrtti, who "propagated Buddhism, defeated Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the champion of sacrificial religion, controverted the Jainas and tried to bring back Kaliṅga into the Buddhist fold. But,

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* Vide *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII (1904), Pt. i, pp. 282—86 ff.

[1] According to Dr. S. K. De, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa flourished in the 7th and 8th century A. D. (Vide *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. XXV.)

his missionary efforts were unavailing as according to Huen Tsang, Buddhism had reached its nadir in Kaliṅga"[1].

In that age, keen competition was going on between Buddhism and Brahmanism. Some Śaiva Ācāryas came to Kaliṅga from different parts of Upper India and the *Pāśupatas* and the *Matta Mayūras* were gaining popularity in the territory of the Gaṅgas. We find the name of a great scholar named Pataṅga Śivācārya who was the *Dīksāguru* of Dēvēndravarman in *G. E.* 184. He was a compiler of *Dharmaśāstras* as seen from a copperplate inscription of Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 184 (No. 17) as quoted below:—

"Vēda-vēdāṅg = ētihāsa-purāṇa - nyāya - vidyā - sva-siddhānta-gatāya Bhagavat-Pataṅga-Śivācāryāya guravē dīkṣōttara-kālē guru-pūjāyaiḥ dattaḥ......" *

He was living with his *Śiṣyas* and *Praśiṣyas* in the temple of Yāgēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka near the village Gurāṇḍi in the Mahēndra region. His name indicates that he belonged to the Matta-Mayūra sect which was thriving in the Madhyapradesa and Kosala (the Sambalpur region).

We find that one Pilaśarman was well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* (No. 18). The donees, Tamparaśarman and Viṣṇu Sōmācārya (Nos. 19 and 20) were also learned scholars. Similarly, the donee, Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, son of Viṣṇudēva, was a master in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* (No. 26). We find that Dēvēndravarman granted some lands to a *guru* named Vinītaśaśi, who as residing in Śrī-Parvata (Śrīśailaṃ) (No. 29). The donee in No. 10, son of a *Mahāpratihāra* (whose name cannot be read) was a

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[1] *Buddhist remains in Andhra and Andhra History 225—610 A. D.* by K. R. Subramaniam, pp. 62-63 ff.

* *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 275-76 ff; *Ins.*, *Or.*, Vol. II, p. 69 f.

Sukavi or "good poet." One Kamalāsana Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Khaṇḍyama *guru*, (No. 31) was a *Dēvasthānīya* (Temple-Superintendent) and was well-versed in the *Paramārtha-tatva.* Most probably, he was a follower of Śrī Sankara. The donees, Narasimha Bhaṭṭa and Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, sons of Drōṇa Bhaṭṭa of Kāmakāyana *gōtra*, were accomplished persons and well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras.*

LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The language in which the grants of the Gaṅgas were written was Sanskrit thoroughly influenced by the local Oriya-prākrit. We find many colloquial Oriya words in their inscriptions as shown here under:—

Māḍa dui, dui-jaṇaka, dīli, baḍa-bēṭa (ṇṭa), sāhāsa bidagadha, Ōḍivisai, milanta-dina, darasana, gauraba, dui-bhāga, talē, bhītarē, dui, dēḍha, pañca-dēḍha, aṭhāvana-sāi. *

Most of these words of the Oriya-Prākrit are used after the 2nd century of the Gaṅga *era*, which clearly proves that the language of the common man in Kaliṅga was Oriya, although most of the scripts have been moulded by the South Indian influence.

A glance at the Sanakhimundi plates of Indra-varman of Svētaka (No. 60) will convince us being most of the words written according to the Prākrit form of usage.

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* Vide *Ins., Or.,* Vol. II, p. 373 f.

APPENDIX

The Ganga *Era*

Very many attempts have been made by scholars to solve the problem of the initial year of the rule of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. But, till now, it remains unsolved although many scholars have accepted the latest view suggested by Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi. According to him, the Gaṅga *era* was started in 498 A. D. [1] But, in the face of several historical facts, this view cannot be accepted as final. I am, therefore, reviewing the question basing mostly on records discovered till now. At first, I give below the views of different scholars who have attempted to solve this problem:—

In 1887, while editing the Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman (Vide No. 9), Dr. Fleet threw a dim-light on the problem saying that "In publishing the Chicacole grant, I wrote that it is possible that Indra of 128 year (Vide *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119-22) is identical with Adhirāja Indra who is mentioned in the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛithivīmula (Vide *J. A. S., Bom.*, Vol. XVI, p 16), as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. This Indrabhaṭṭāraka must be the E. Cālukya king of that name, younger brother of Jayasiṁha (I) (ŚS. 549 to 579—82) and father of Viṣṇu (II) (ŚS. 579—82 to 591). This is the period to which all the grants of Indra may be allotted on palaeographical grounds. As already intimated, the clue to the date may be found in line 10 of the grant of 128 of an eclipse of the full moon day of Mārgaśira." He suggests that the said eclipse might have fallen within the years of ŚS. 549 to 646 and that was possible, as the Indra who

[1] Amānta Caitra Śu. Di. 1 in the Śaka year 420 corresponding to the 14th March 498 A. D. (Vide *E. I.*, XXVII, p. 192).

defeated Indrabhaṭṭāraka might be the king in which case the lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant of 128 *G. E.* should be looked for in the period 627—725 A. D., for its precise determination. Again Dr. Fleet, while writing a paper on "*Hindu Chronology*" in the *Encyclopedia Britanica* (Vide the 13th Edition, Vol. XXXIII, p. 496) says: "......................various details in the inscriptions enable us to trace the origin of the Gaṅga kings to Western India, and to place the initial point of their reckoning in A. D. 590, when a certain Satyāśraya Dhṛivarāja Indravarman, an ancestor and probably the grandfather of the first Gaṅga king Rājasiṁha Indravarman (I), commenced to govern a large province in the Konkaṇa under the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman(I). From the Kerellika grant of Dhṛivarāja Indravarman, we learn that he was a subordinate ruler in the Revati Island under Pṛithvī-ballabha Mahārāja *alias* Maṅgalīśa of the Cālukya family. This inscription was granted in the 20th year of 'Vijaya-Rājya Saṁvatsara' corresponding to the Śaka year 532, Māgha, Śu. Di. 15, in the Kheṭahāra country (Vide *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 365).

2. Dr. Burnell, following the suggestions of Dr. Fleet. says that the Gaṅga *era* took its start in A. D. 590 (Vide Burnell's *Antiquities of India*, p. 95).

3. Raybahadur G. H. Ojha, while contradicting the above suggestions of both the scholars, suggests that the Gaṅga *era* must have started on or about A. D. 570. His theory is entirely based upon the synchronous aspect of the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛithvīmula (Vide G. H. Ojha's *The Palaeography of India*, 1918, pp. 176-77).

4. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that the Gaṅga Indra-varman of Kaliṅga should be considered to have

fought with Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin line, who was living up to A. D. 520. The above suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn has been accepted by Dr. G. Jeuvou-Dubreuil, who, in his *Ancient History of India* (pp. 76—91) translated by V. S. Swaminatha Dikshitayar, writes—

"We have six documents that give us information about the kings of Kaliṅga. We have said that, about A. D. 340, Samudra Gupta met on the coast of Orissa with Mantarāja, king of Kērala, Svāmidatta, king of Kōttura, Damana of Eraṇḍapalli and Mahēndra of Piṣṭhāpura. The last of them had probably the title of king of Kaliṅga.[1] We see that Śaktivarman (Vide Ragolu plates, *E. I.*, XII, 1—3) who also reigned at Piṣṭhāpura had this title. The six documents we had mentioned being all in Samskrit are probably posterior to the year 400 A. D. On the other hand the coast of Orissa was conquered[2] by Pulakēśin (II) (Vide Aihole Ins. *E. I.*, VI, p. 6) about 609 A. D., and was probably shared between the E. Cālukyas in the south and the E. Gaṅgas in the north. The date of the six documents are, therefore, between 400 and 600 A. D."

5. Mr. G. Ramadas of Jaypur, in his paper on *The Chronology of the E. Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga* (Vide *J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pts. 3 and 4, pp. 398—415), says that the Gaṅga *era* started from ŚS. 271 or A. D. 349 (Vide *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, Pts. 1 & 3, pp. 9—20). This view need not be considered after the discovery of several new inscriptions of the Gaṅgas.

6. R. D. Banarji says that the Gaṅga *era* must have started in the '1st or 2nd decade of the 8th

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[1] Please see my *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 58.

[2] In the Aihole Insc., it is mentioned that Pulakēśin defeated the kings of Kaliṅga, Kōśala, Piṣṭhāpura, Kuntala and Kāñcipura (Vide *E. I.*, VI., P. 6).

century A. D.' (Vide *History of Orissa,* Vol. I, p. 239). As his assumption regarding Guṇamahārṇava of Cōḍagaṅga's line is the same Guṇārṇava, father of Dēvēndravarman who lived some time before *G. E.* 183 is not tenable, we are not able to accept this view.

7. Prof. R. Subba Rao, says that the "Gaṅga *era*" must have started in A. D. 493. (Vide his paper on the "Gaṅga *era*" presented to the *All India Oriental Conference*, held at Patna in 1930; and reproduced in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V. Pt. 3, pp. 200—04). His view is based on the synchronization of the Gōḍavarī plates of Pṛithvīmula. He suggests that the Indra of the south, as mentioned in both plates, is the king of the same name of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty; and the other Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the north is no other than Indravarman of Kaliṅga, who, according to Jirjingi plates (No. 2), was living in *G. E.* 39. He advocates that "one of the later (Gaṅga) king, Madhukāmārṇava, actually used the year 526 of Gaṅga *era* (Vide No. 41). He further says that from Anantavarman Vajrahasta-dēva, we get a regular genealogical account of the Gaṅgas including their dates in Śakāvda. The reigning time of Madhukāmārṇava, according to Vajrahasta's plates, is ŚS. 941—959 or A. D. 1019—1037. "Granting that this king granted the plates of the year 526 *G. E.*, as soon as he came to the throne, the *era* would start in A. D. 493"

8. Mr. Jogesh Chandra Ghosh attempted to rectify the supposed error committed by Subba Rao (Vide *I. A.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237-38) saying that the initial year of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga must have commenced in A. D. 495-96. He argues as follows:—

"From the Siṁhapura grant of Dharmakhēḍi (No. 35) we learn that this king Dēvēndravarman

ruled in 520 *G. E.* As Dēvēndravarman (*alias* Kāmārṇava, son of Vajrahasta) ruled for only six months, 500 *G. E.* must coincide with 1015-1016 A. D. This being so, the initial year of the Gaṅga Saṁvat cannot but correspond to (1015-1016 minus 520) = 495-96 A. D." In support of this, he added that "the Chicacole grant of Indravarman of 128 *G. E.* which records a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśira, is coinciding with A. D. 623-24, when there was a lunar eclipse in the same month as stated in the Indravarman's plates." (Vide Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, Table X, p. 55).

9. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, in his paper on *The Commencement of the Victorious Gaṅga era* (read in the Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935) says that "the initial point of the Gaṅga *era* would be Bhādrapada vahula, the 13th *tithi*, Ś. 419 expired, corresponding to Monday, the 11th August, 497 A. D., and thus the first year of the Gaṅga *era* would in 498 A. D." (Vide *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19—32 ff.)

10. Sri Vepa Ramesan says that "the initial point was probably 498, Kārttikādi, 1, (if all the years were current) or 497 Kārttikādi, 1, (if the years were expired years)" (Vide the *Āndhra Chronology*, p. 36).

11. While editing Pherava grant of Sāmanta-varman (No. 66), Dr. R. C. Majumdar writes that "the epoch to the Gaṅga *era* has not been finally determined yet, but there is a general consonance of opinion that it commenced towards the very end of the 5th or by the middle of the 6th century A. D." (Vide *E. I.*, XXVII, p. 108 ff.)

12. While editing the Tirlingi plates of Dēvēndra-varman of *G. E.* 192 (No. 16), Sri R. K. Ghoshal remarks that "the date in words as well as in figures, is the 30th day of Māgha of the year 192 of the

increasing and victorious regime". But, he failed to refer to the lunar eclipse on which occasion *Kanyā-dāna* was made by the donor.

13. Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma says, while editing the Ponnuturn plates of Sāmantavarman of *G. E.* 64 (No. 4)—

"After the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman, the present is the earliest of the Early Gaṅga grants that have so far come to light...... This grant makes one point very clear, and that is about the system of reckoning of lunar months then in vogue in Kaliṅga. The 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Puṣya in the given year is equal to the 28th day of Puṣya. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the *Pūrṇimānta* system of reckoning was in vogue in Kaliṅga during the rule of the Early Gaṅga Kings. This is confirmed by some other early grants also. The Urlam plates of Hasti-varman (No. 6) record a grant on the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika, which is equal to the 8th *tithi* of Kārttika. The Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarman (No. 15) records a grant issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The month in which this eclipse occurred can be traced from the date, mentioned at the end of the record as the 30th day or the Paurṇamī of the month of Māgha. This day, according to the *Pūrṇimānta* system, happens to be the 15th day of the bright fortnight." (*E. I.*, XXVII, pp. 217-18).

14. Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi, in his note, while approving the calculations made by R. Subba Rao, fixes the date of the commencement of the Gaṅga *era* as the 14th March, 498 A. D. He based his theory on astronomical dates found in the Gaṅga records (Vide *E. I.*, XXVII, p. 192 ff.). In support to his theory

he gives a lengthy note on the Ponnutur plates of Sāmantavarman in *E. I.*, XXVIII, pp. 171—74 ff.

15. The latest opinion regarding the starting point of the Gaṅga *era* is given by Sri N. Ramesan in *The Hindu* of Madaras, 17th May, 1953, page IV, while editing the Andhavaram plates of Indravarman (No. 9). This grant of Indravarman was issued in a new *era* called *Tuṁburuvaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsara* 133, and in the Śrāvaṇa Amāvāsyā when there was a solar eclipse. According to Ramesan, this *era* is equal to the Gaṅga *era* and that, because this eclipse is not astronomically supporting the theory of Prof. Subba Rao, it needed revision. According to him, it should have been started from 434 A. D. which would be supported by the evidence of all the other eclipses recorded in the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas.

The above theories relating to the Gaṅga *era* offered by different scholars, are mostly based on the original theory of Prof. R. Subba Rao who fixed the last part of the 5th century A. D. as its starting period. But, this view is not conclusive on the following grounds:—

(1) The kingdom of Kaliṅga was divided into several fragmentary principalities during the invasion of Samudra Gupta to this land (Kaliṅga) in *circa* 360 A. D. But, a short while after his invasion, Kaliṅga was unified by Umavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty, whose reigning period is assigned to about the close of the 4th century A. D. (Vide *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 80, App. I). He introduced the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati* in his 30th regnal year. [1] After him, at least ten kings of his family succpeeded to the throne of Kaliṅga and

[1] *Ins., Or*, Vol. I, Part II, Appendix I after page 80.

used the glorious titles of *Kaliṅgādhipati* and *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*. According to our calculation,[1] these Māṭhara or the Vāśiṣṭhī-kula kings ruled Kaliṅga from *circa* 314 A. D. to 536 A. D., the total number of kings being twelve. They issued grants from the districts named (1) Kōrāṣōḍaka-Pañcāli which is mentioned in Nos. 11 and 16 above, (2) Varāhavarttanī which is mentioned in Nos. 4, 6, 24, 25, 33 and 51 above and (3) Bhilaṅga Bhōga Viṣaya which is mentioned in No. 47 above. It proves, that the Māṭharas ruled in the same area where the Gaṅgas established their sway. Therefore, it is highly improbable to say that two different families ruled in the same area in the same time, using the same titles of *Kaliṅgādhipati*.

(2) Our second argument is that according to the Sumaṇḍala plate of *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja of the Gupta *era* 250 or A. D. 570, one Pṛithivīvigraha was the governor of Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra (Vide *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, No. 21, p. 113 ff). Shortly after the Gupta *era* 300 (620 A. D.), Mādhavarāja of the Śailōdbhava family of Kōṅgada used the title of *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati* (Vide *Ibid* No. 33, p. 162 ff.). If the Gaṅga *era* would start from 498 A. D., then Pṛithivīvigraha and Mādhavarāja who ruled the kingdom of Kaliṅga, must have lived in *G. E.* 72 and 122 respectively when either Māhārāja Sāmantavarman or his successors, Hastivarman and Indravarman (I) were the kings of Kaliṅga, using the glorious titles of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati*. It is, therefore, quite absurd to suggest that either Pṛithivīvigraha or Mādhavarāja could rule the country of Kaliṅga when the powerful Gaṅgas were ruling there.

(3) Our third argument is that Jayavarmadēva; who issued one of his grants in *G. E.* 100 (written

[1] *Ins., Or.*, Vol. I, Part II, Section I, Appendix II.

in numerical symbols and in words). (Vide No. 53 above) was a contemporary king of Unmaṭṭakēśarī of Bhaumakara family of Virajā (Vide No. 57 above). The Bhaumakar kings of Tōṣalī introduced a *Saṁvat* of their own, which according to my calculation, started from 736 A. D. Therefore, Jayavarmadēva, a contemporary of Unmaṭṭakēśarī, issued the grant in *G. E.* 100 which must be near about 736 A. D.[1]

It is not out of place to point out here that Unmaṭṭakēśarī's successor, Subhākarakēśarī, was a contemporary of Te-tsong, the Emperor of China, who flourished towards the close of the 8th century A. D. He sent a Buddhist work, called the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the last section of *Buddhāvataṁsa*, as a present to Emperor (Te-tsong) through a Buddhist monk. This work was translated by M. Sylvain Levi, the French Sinologist, who explained the name of the king from the Chinese language as "one who does what is pure, the lion", which means "Subhākarakēśarī." According to Mr. Levi, this manuscript was sent to China in the 11th regnal year of Te-tsong, which falls in 795 A. D. R. D. Banerji, while editing a copperplate grant of the same king Subhākaradēva of Bhaumakara family (Vide *E. I.*, XV, pp. 1—6 ff.), read the date in line 30 as "*Saṁvat* 8, mārgga, va di 23". But, Pandit. Vinayaka Misra, who published a revised reading of the text of the said inscription, reads the same as "*Saṁvat* 54 mārgga. va. di. 23" (Vide *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 7 ff.). I am inclined to accept the revised reading of Pt. Misra for the reason that a continuous family *era* of the Bhaumas was introduced by the predecessor of Subhākarakēśarī or Subhākaradēva. If, therefore, Subhākaradēva reigned in (736+54=) 790 A. D., then this date should be

[1] *O. H. R. J.* Vol. I, No 3, pp. 208—11 and *ibid* Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 67—74.

equal to 164 Gaṅga *era* when either Indravarman of *G. E.* 154 or his successor Dēvēndravarman of *G. E.* 183 ruled the country from Kaliṅganagara. In No. 56 we find that Jayavarman issued a grant in Kōngada Maṇḍala after obtaining permission from *Mahārāja* Unmattakēśarī who lived at Virajā. The inscription gives a *Saṁvat* as 50 which figure is, of course, not quite clear. As Jayavarmadēva called himself a *Rāṇaka* instead of *Mahārāja*, I think that he lived as a subordinate king under Unmattakēśarī up to (736+50=) 786 A. D.

Another interesting fact which I like to discuss here is that a stone inscription in a cave-temple at Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar, mentions the name of a *Bhiṣak* as Bhaṭṭa Lōyōmaka. He is the son of Bhīmaṭa and grandson of Nannaṭa. This inscription is incised in *Saṁvat* 93 (Bhauma *era* ?) when Śānti-karadēva of the Bhaumakara family was the king of Tōṣalī, (Vide *E. I.*, IX, pp. 263-64 ff. and *Orissa under the Bhauma-Kings*, p. 11 ff.). Probably, the grandfather of Lōyōmaka, whose name is Nannaṭa Bhaṭṭa, is the donee in the grants of Jayavarmadēva of *Saṁvat* 50 (Vide No. 56 above) and his successor, Bhūpēndra-varman's successor, Anantavarman, of *Saṁvat* 79 (Vide No. 58 above). According to these two grants, Nannaṭa Bhaṭṭa belongs to the Vatsa-*gōtra*, Vājasanēya *caraṇa*, Kāṇva *śakhā* and Bharga-Darda-Cyavana-Jāmadagni-*pravara*. From the Udayagiri Cave inscription, we underestand that the family was known as *Bhaṭṭa* and they were *Bhiṣaks* (doctors). If Nannaṭa's grand-son was living in *Saṁvat* 93 as per the Udayagiri Cave inscription, then it is quite probable that Nannaṭa lived in the same *Saṁvat* 50 and 79 as per Nos. 56 and 58 above. Therefore, these dates may be taken as the Bhauma *era* which was used by the Bhaumakara kings of Tōṣalī and many other subordinate kings under them.

Although these synchronic facts await further scrutiny, it is quite certain that Jayavarmadēva, who issued his first grant in *G. E.* 100, is the same king Jayavarman who issued another grant in Bhauma *era* 50. Since the Bhauma *era* started in A. D. 736,[1] Jayavarman, who lived in the 50th year of the Bhauma *era*, lived in 786 A. D. He issued his first grant, probably in the Gaṅga *era* 100, corresponding to 726 A. D., *i. e.*, only sixty years before his last grant was made. Although the reign of 60 years of a king is not usual, it is not impossible.[2]

The Talachera plate of Śivakaradēva of the Bhauma family states that there flourished two powerful kings namely, Unmattasiṁha and Śubhākara. The former married the daughter of a king of Rāḍhā and the latter subjugated the Kaliṅgas. The relevant verses are quoted below :—

"Āsīd = yō darpad = āsīt = kṛta-sakala-ripuḥ
pāra-tulya pratāpī-
tasmin-vaṁśē kṣitīśaḥ prathita-pṛthu-yaśaḥ
Śrīmad = unmattasiṁhaḥ.
ākarṇṇ = ākṛṣṭa-cāpa-sṛta-niśita-śarā
sādi-ghōrē raṇē yaḥ
kanyāṃ Rāḍhādhipasya śriyam = iva vijayō
pārjjitām = ājahāra
tasmād = vairi-vadhū-kapōla-vilasat =
patrāṅkurā-karṣakō
rājā-rañjita-dik-Śubhākara iti
prakhyāta-nāmā = 'bhavat.
vaṁśē yēna kubhōjanēka-ratinā,
nirmūlya pṛthvī-bhṛtāṃ
saṁdīpya prakaṭa-pratāpa-dahanaṃ
Kāliṅkāḥ sādhitāḥ."[3]

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[1] For details regarding this family *era* of the Bhaumas, please see my paper in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XII, pp. 100—06 ff.

[2] Anantavarman' Cōḍagaṅgadēva reigned for about 70 years.

[3] *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, p. 43 *ff*.

The above verses prove that the Bhauma kings captured a portion of Kalinga, probably Svētake, and made the Gaṅgas their subordinate chieftains for a short time.

(4) Prof. R. Subba Rao and others have confused the problem of the Gaṅga *era* by suggesting that this *era* and the Gaṅga-Kadamba-*era* (No. 35) are one and the same. It is not so, because, Dharmakhēḍi, the grandfather of Udayakhēḍi, is no doubt one and the same person who issued the Siṁhapur grant in *G. K. E.* 520 (No. 35) and was a contemporary of Anantavarman (*alias* Vajrahasta). In this inscription, we get the following names of kings among the Gaṅgas and their subordinate Kadambas :—

GAṄGAS	KADAMBAS
	Niyārṇava
	|
Anantavarman	Bhīmakhēḍi
|	|
Dēvēndravarman	Dharmakhēḍi
	(*G. K. E.* 520)

In No. 38 above we get the following names :—

	Bhīmakhēḍi
Anantavarman	|
	Dharmakhēḍi (S 900 plus *sapta-rasa*)

It proves that Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhīmakhēḍi was living in the times of Anantavarman's son, Dēvēndravarman, and his son, Ananta, shown in our first genealogical table.

It is significant to note here that according to No. 33, *Yuvarāja* Rājēndravarman issued a grant which was engraved by one Sāmirājā. This inscription is dated *G. E.* 313. Then, in *G. E.* 342 the same king (Rājēndravarman) issued a grant which was engraved

by Sāmirājā's son, Raṇāmēya (Vide No. 34). Then, again in No. 41, we find that the inscription was engraved by Raṇāmēya. This grant was issued by Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantvarman, in *G. E.* (?) 526. It is quite absurd to say that Raṇāmēya was living in the Gaṅga *era* 342 and 526. Therefore, the date which is mentioned in No. 41 as 526 must be an *era* other than the Gaṅga *era*. Most probably, it is the same as the Gaṅga-Kadamba-*era*, found in No. 35. Hence, we cannot fix the date of Madhukāmārṇava beyond the middle of the 4th century of the Gaṅga *era*.

Another synchronic fact may be assigned to prove that Dharmakhēḍi was living before *G. E.* 383. In No. 43, we find that the grant was issued by Vajrahasta *alias* Anantavarmadēva (No. 20 of the table), son of Bhūpēndravarman in *G. E.* 383, and in No. 45 the donor was Udayakhēḍi, son of Ugrakhēḍi and grandson of Dharmakhēḍi. Udayakhēḍi issued his grant in the time of his overlord Dēvēndravarman, son of Bhūpēndravarman. We have shown in the first genealogical table that Bhūpēndravarman had two sons, namely, Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman. It is thus proved that Dēvēndravarman came to the throne sometime between *G. E.* 383 and 397 when Udayakhēḍi, the grandson of Dharmakhēḍi, was living. So, we cannot say that Dharmakhēḍi could live in *G. E.* 520, as per No. 35, while his grandson, Udayakhēḍi, lived in between *G. E.* 383 and 397.

I have discussed this point in details while editing two copperplate inscriptions of the Gaṅgas in *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1—27 ff. In that paper, I attached a statement in Appendix I, where I have shown how the Gaṅgas and Kadambas, with their engravers and officers, as recorded in their grants, were

identical and that they all lived during the 4th century of the Gaṅga *era*. After *G. E.* 397, we are not getting the name of the *era* mentioned anywhere in the documents. Therefore, we need not confuse the issue by saying that Madhukāmārṇava of *G. K. E.* 526 is identical with the king of the same name, mentioned in the second genealogical list, who ruled from 1018—38 A. D.

It is significant to note here that Dharmakhēḍi, whose grandson Udayakhēḍi lived in between *G. E.* 383 and 397, and whose overlords Anantavarman's son, Dēvēndravarman, and his son Anantavarman (Nos. 16 and 18 of the first table) must have lived in between *G. E.* 351 and 358, corresponding to (626-27+394=) 1020-21 A. D., and (626-27+358=) 984-85 A. D. Now, according to No. 36, Dharmakhēḍi issued a grant in Śakāvda '*Nava-śataka-saptarasa*' which is interpreted by scholars in different ways. I accept the interpretation, given by Dr. D. C. Sircar who says that it should be a mistake for Śakāvda *Navaśataka saptadaśa* or Śakāvda 917 or A. D. 995. If, therefore, Dharmakhēḍi and Anantavarman of 358 *G. E.* lived near about A. D. 995, then, the Gaṅga *era* must start some time near (995 – 358 =) 637 A. D.

Basing our view on this, let us proceed on astronomical factors which would be helpful to determine the actual time when the *era* took its start.

First of all, we should deal with the eclipses, solar and lunar, recorded in these inscriptions. For this purpose, the grants of the following Nos. are to be considered :—

(1) Inscriptions where the lunar eclipses are mentioned—Nos. 12 and 18.

(2) Inscriptions where the solar eclipses are recorded—Nos. 15, 22, 26, 28, 36, 36-A, 37 and 48.

All these grants are dated in the Gaṅga *era*, and most of them do not mention the month and *tithi* in which the grants were issued. In spite of that, it is an important clue to find out their corresponding dates in a chronological manner.

With reference to "*The Indian Ephemeris*" of Swamikannu Pillai, let us examine each case, applying the astronomical test, to find out whether the *era* started from 498 or 626-27 A. D.

I. In No. 12, in line 20, the date is recorded thus: "Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara[ḥ] 100. 20. 8. Caitra di. 5" and in lines 10 and 11 "we find the actual date when the grant was made" "...Puṇyābhi-vṛddhayē Mārgaśira-paurṇṇa-māsyāṃ Sōmōparāgē......" So, it is quite apparent that the grant was issued in Mārgaśira Paurṇamī and the inscription was engraved after three and half months, *i. e.*, in Caitra Amāvāśyā, within which period the Gaṅga *era* 128 was not changed. According to our suggestion, the corresponding date is 754-55 A. D. when a lunar eclipse falls on Wednesday, the 4th December, 754 A. D.

According to Mirashi's calculation, it falls on Friday, the 16th May, 626 A. D.

II. In No. 18, we find in lines 12 and 23-24 that the occasion of grant and the date are as quoted below :—

L. 12 "Sōmōparāgē Kanyā-dāna-samayē sampradattaḥ".

L. 23-24 "Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śatē dvinavatyuttarē 192 Māgha-māsa-divasē trimśātitamē 30..." So, it is clear that the grant was made in *G. E.* 192 in Māghapaurṇamī when there was a lunar eclipse.

According to our calculation, it falls on (626-27 +192=) 818-19 A. D. It corresponds to Tuesday, the 26th January, 818 A. D.

According to Mirashi's calculation, the corresponding date will be (498+192=) 690 A. D. As *the Indian Ephemeris* of S. K. Pillai starts from 700 A. D., we have to consult the "*Eclipses of the moon in India*" by Robert Sewell; and we find that there occurred no eclipse in the month of Māgha between 23-1-688 A. D. and 13-1-697 A. D. Therefore, this test does not support Mirashi's theory.

III. In No. 15, we find that the grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse as per the line 14 of the text which is quoted here: "... ...Puṇyābhibṛddhayē Sūryōparāgē salila - [dhārā]-pūrvakaṃ." In line 29, the date is recorded as quoted below :—

"Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara[ḥ] 100. 50. 4."

According to our calculation, this date is equal to (626-27+154=) 780-81 A. D.

Two solar eclipses are recorded during 780 A. D. (one in 10-2-780 and the other in 5-8-780 A. D.) As the month is not recorded, we cannot ascertain as in which date the grant was actually issued.

IV. No. 22 was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the plates were engraved in "Pravarddhamāna-vijaya - rājya - saṁvatsara - śatē 221 Āṣāḍha-dina-pañcamī......" As there can be no eclipse on a *Pañcami tithi*, we may conclude that the inscription was engraved on a date immediately after the occurrence of the solar eclipse. According to our calculation, *G. E.* 221 corresponds to (626-27+221=) 847-48 A. D. The immediately preceding solar eclipse before Āṣāḍha Śukla Pañcamī occurred on the Āṣāḍha Amāvāśya which corresponds to Tuesday, the 5th June, 848 A..

According to Mirashi's theory, this date *i. e.*, *G. E.* 221 corresponds to (498+221=)719 A. D. in which year there was an additional Āṣāḍha (adhika-āṣāḍha) and a solar eclipse occurred in the *mala-māsa* on the 24th May, 719 A. D. But, in a *mala-māsa* no sacred functions are performed.

V. No. 26 mentions that the grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse (line 18) and the date was "Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śatatriṇi-catur=ōttarāṇi." (see the lines 28-29). According to our calculation, it corresponds to (626-27+304=) 930-31 A. D. and is equal to Tuesday, the 29th June, 930 A. D., when there was a solar eclipse.

VI. In No. 28 a grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse (line 17) and the date is given in lines 28-29 as "Gāṇgēya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śata-trayē ṣaḍōchhritaḥ" *i. e.*, *G. E.* 306. This date corresponds to (626-27+306=) 932-33 A. D. when there was no solar eclipse but on Monday, the 12th Dec. 931 A. D.

This is the second instance to prove that Mirashi's theory does not stand by this test, because, according to his calculation the Gaṅga *era* 306 will correspond to (498+306)=804 A. D. in which year there occurred no solar eclipse at all. From 25-4-803 A. D. to 16-9-806 A. D. there occured no solar eclipse.

VII. Nos. 36 and 36A which have been granted on the solar eclipses during the Gaṅga *era* 351* which correspond, according to our calculation, to (626-27+351=) 977-78 A. D. The first eclipse occured on the 13th December, 977 A. D. and the second on the 8th June, 978 A. D. Therefore, it is proved that between these dates (*i. e.*, 13-12-977 and 8-6-978 A. D.) or between Pouṣa Amāvāśyā and Āṣāḍha Amāvāśyā, the new year of the Gaṅga *era* begins.

* For details please see pp. 119-124 above.

According to Mirashi, the corresponding date of *G. E.* 351 is (498+351=) 849 A. D. during which year there occured no solar eclipse. The nearest solar eclipses of this date (849 A. D.) are those which occurred in 5-6-848 A. D. and 9-10-850 A. D.

VIII. No. 37 was granted on the occasion of a solar eclipse (line 17) and the date is recorded in line 23-24 as *G. E.* 358. The date corresponds, according to our view, to (626-27+358=) 984-85 A. D. and on Wednesday, the 30th July, 984 A. D., there occurred a solar eclipse.

IX. No. 48 was granted on a solar eclipse (line 22) and the date is mentioned in lines 40-41 as "Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarāṇām śata-traya-saptādhika-navati-aṅkēnāpi 397". This date corresponds, according to our calculation, to (626-27+397=) 1023-24 A. D. There was a solar eclipse on Tuesday, the 9th June, 1024 A. D.

Apart from the above tests through eclipses, we may presume that most of the Brāhmaṇas were granted gifts on the auspicious occasion of *Saṅkrāntis*, which has been prescribed for *dānam* in *Dharmaśāstras*. We quote here the following verses from a *Dharmaśāstra* to corroborate this:—

"Ayanē viṣuvē caiva grahaṇē candra-sūryayōḥ ।
Saṁkrānty=ādiṣu kālēṣu dattaṃ bhavati c=ākṣayaṃ ॥"
(Vide Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita's *Smṛtimuktāvali*, *Varṇāśrama-kāṇḍaḥ*).

With regard to the charters, issued to Brāhmaṇas on the days of the Saṅkrānti, we may cite here the Nos. 5, 11, 17 and 20 where the names of the month and *tithi* are mentioned.

(1) In No. 6, the date is found in the lines 22 and 23 and the names of the month and *tithi* are mentioned in the line 13 as :

"Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-āśītiḥ 80 ॥" and "Kārttika-kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām = udakapūrvvaṃ sampradattā" respectively. According to our calculation, the *G. E.* 80 corresponds to (626-27+80 =) 706-07 A. D., the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kārtika which falls on the day of Tūla-Saṅkrānti, corresponding to the Friday, 23rd September, 707 A. D.

(2) No. 13 is a grant made in favour of the Brāhmaṇas. The date, in the inscription is given in line 23 as follows :—

"Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraḥ 100. 40. 6 Māgha di. 10. 3." (*i. e., G. E.* 146, Māgha di. 13) and the occasion of the grant is mentioned in line 15 as "Māgha - saptamyām = udakapūrvvaṃ asmābhiḥ sampradattaḥ ॥" Thus, it is clear that the inscription was granted on the 7th *tithi* of Māgha, and engraved on the 13th day of the same month in *G. E.* 146. Now, according to our calculation, the corresponding date of *G. E.* 146 is (626-27+146 =) 772-73 A. D. and the occasion of the grant was the 7th *tithi* of Māgha which fell on the auspicious day of Makara Saṅkrānti, or the Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti, corresponding to Monday, the 21st December, 772 A. D.

(3) No. 19 was granted in *G. E.* 195, equal to 821-22 A. D. in the lines 28-29. In the text, the date is given as "Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śatē pañca-navatē 100. 90. 5. Śrāvaṇa-kṛṣṇa-dinē Pañcamē ॥" and the occasion of the grant is found in line 14 as "Dakṣiṇāyanē udakapūrvvaṃ sampra[da]-ttas = tēn = āpi". So, it is clear that the grant was issued on the day of Dakṣiṇāyana or the Karkaṭa Saṅkrānti which was also the 5th *tithi* of the month of Śrāvaṇa. On the 23rd June, 821 A. D. which was Sunday, there occured the Karkaṭa Saṅkrānti, or

Dakṣiṇāyana which was the 5th *tithi* of Śrāvaṇa, according to the *Purṇimānta* system.

(4) No. 24 is a grant made in *G. E.* 254 or 880-81 A. D. and in the month of *Phālguna-Prathama-Pakṣa-Pratipadā*. Here, the term *Prathama-Pakṣa* implies the dark-fortnight so that the day of *Pratipadā* fell on the *Kumbha Saṅkrānti*, corresponding to Friday, the 20th January, 881 A. D.

From the Gaṅga records, it is learnt that both the systems of *Pūrṇimānta* and *Amānta* were adopted. It indicates that the Gaṅgas followed the *Pañcāṅgas* of South India as well as of North India ungrudgingly, as was the case regarding two types of scripts, freely used in their grants.

Finally, we should point out here that the Tumvuru-vaṁsa *era* in No. 11 and Gaṅga Kadamba *era* in Nos. 35 and 41 are not the same as the Gaṅga *era*.

It should be noted here that the Kadamba king, Dharmakhēḍi, who lived in *G. K. E.* 520 (No. 35) was the grand-father of Udayakhēḍi, a contemporary and subordinate king of Bhūpēndravarman's son, Dēvēndra-varman (No. 45). Bhūpēndravarman's son, Vajrahasta, issued his grant (No. 43) in *G. E.* 383. So, Dharma-khēḍi must have lived prior to that year, and in the Gaṅga-Kadamba-*era* 520.* It is thus proved that the *eras* named Gaṅga-Kadamba and Gaṅga *era* are not identical.

The Gaṅga *era*, I believe, commenced from the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, which is called "*Suniyā*". From our test in No. VII in page XVII above, it is apparent that the Gaṅga *era* was started in between Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa.

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* The Gaṅga-Kadamba *era* is not the same as Gaṅga *era*. But, some scholars erroneously take it as the Gaṅga *era*.

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INDEX

Abbreviations :—(*An. Pr.*)—*Anu-Pravara*, (c)—country, (d)—district, (f)—family, (g)—god or goddess, (h)—hill, (k)—king, (o)—officer, (p)—province, (*Pr.*)—*pravara*, (q)—queen, (r)—river, (t)—town, (v)—village.

(A)

(C)

(D)

(E)

F)

(G)

(H)

(I)

(J)

(L)

(M)

(P)

(T)

(U)

(V)

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